

LIBRARY OF PHILLIPS ACADEMY



DOUGLAS CRAWFORD
MEMORIAL FUND



M. V. Gucht Sculp.

— *Laudatur et Alget*
Juven. Sat. I.

Frontispiece to "Jure Divino: a Satyr . . . by the Author
of the True-Born Englishman" *i.e.* Daniel Defoe (1706)

THE SHORTEST WAY WITH THE DISSENTERS.

Frontispiece

The Shortest Way
with the Dissenters
And Other Pamphlets
By Daniel Defoe



PRINTED AT THE SHAKESPEARE HEAD PRESS
Stratford-upon-Avon; and published for the
Press by BASIL BLACKWELL, Oxford, and by
HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY
Boston and New York

53505



820
D36a
V.13

CONTENTS

<i>The Poor Man's Plea</i>	Page 1
<i>The True-Born Englishman</i>	p. 21
<i>The History of the Kentish Petition</i>	p. 73
<i>Legion's Memorial</i>	p. 103
<i>The Shortest Way with the Dissenters</i>	p. 113
<i>A Hymn to the Pillory</i>	p. 135
<i>Giving Alms no Charity</i>	p. 153
<i>An Appeal to Honour and Justice</i>	p. 189
<i>Historical and Explanatory Notes</i>	p. 239

THE POOR MAN'S PLEA

IN RELATION TO ALL THE

*Proclamations, Declarations,
Acts of Parliament, &c.*

which have been, or shall be made, or publish'd,
for a Reformation of Manners, and sup-
pressing Immorality in the Nation.

THE SECOND EDITION CORRECTED

LONDON:

Printed for *A. Baldwin*, near the *Oxford Arms* in
Warwick-Lane. MDCXCVIII

THE POOR MAN'S PLEA *was first published on March 31st, 1698 (4to, Title, & Preface, 2 leaves, pages 31); a second edition, printed for A. Baldwin, near the Oxford Arms, in Warwick Lane, followed within two months (4to, Title and Preface, 2 leaves, pages 28); and a third edition appeared on March 26, 1700. It was also reprinted in A True Collection of the Writings of the Author of the True-Born Englishman (July, 1703).*

The present text is that of the second edition. A few illustrative and explanatory notes on this and certain of the following pieces will be found at the end of the present volume.

THE PREFACE

REFORMATION of Manners is a Work so Honourable, and at This Time so absolutely necessary, that, like the Reform of our Money, it can be no longer delayed.

The Ways by which the present Torrent of Vice has been let in upon the Nation, and by which it maintains the Tyranny it has usurp'd on the Lives of the Inhabitants, are too plain to be hid. The following Sheets aim at the Work, by leading to the most direct means. viz. Reformation by Example. Laws are, in Terrorem Punishments, and Magistrates Compel and put a Force upon Mens Minds: but Example is Persuasive and Gentle, and draws by a Secret, Invisible, and almost Involuntary Power.

If there can be any Remedies proposed more proper to bring it to pass, they that know them would do well to bring them forth. In the mean time the Author thinks Conscience in the Minds of Men Impartially Consulted, will give a Probatum to the following Proposal; and to that Judgment he refers all those who Object against it.

D. F.

THE POOR MAN'S PLEA

IN searching for a proper Cure of an Epidemick Distemper, Physicians tell us 'tis first necessary to know the Cause of that Distemper, from what Part of the Body, and from what ill Habit it proceeds; and when the Cause is discover'd, it is to be removed, that the Effect may cease of it self; but if removing the Cause will not work the Cure, then indeed they proceed to apply proper Remedies to the Disease it self, and the particular part afflicted.

Immorality is without doubt the present reigning Distemper of the Nation: And the King and Parliament, who are the proper Physicians, seem nobly inclin'd to undertake the Cure. 'Tis a great Work, well worthy their utmost Pains: The Honour of it, were it once perfected, would add more Trophies to the Crown, than all the Victories of *this Bloody War*, or the glory of *this Honourable Peace*.

But as a Person under the Violence of a Disease sends in vain for a Physician, unless he resolves to make use of his Prescription; so in vain does the King attempt to reform a Nation, unless they are willing to reform themselves, and to submit to his Prescriptions.

Wickedness is an Ancient Inhabitant in this Country, and 'tis very hard to give its Original.

But however difficult that may be, 'tis easy to look back to a Time when we were not so generally infected with Vice as we are now; and 'twill seem sufficient to enquire into the Causes of our present Defection.

The Protestant Religion seems to have an unquestion'd Title to the first introducing a strict Morality among us; and 'tis but just to give the Honour of it where 'tis so

eminently due. Reformation of Manners has something of a Natural Consequence in it from Reformation in Religion: For since the Principles of the Protestant Religion disown the Indulgencies of the *Roman* Pontiff, by which a Thousand Sins are, *as Venial Crimes*, bought off, and the Priest, *to save God Almighty the trouble*, can blot them out of the Account before it comes to his hand; common Vices lost their Charter, and men could not sin at so cheap a Rate as before. The Protestant Religion has in it self a natural tendency to Virtue, as a standing Testimony of its own Divine Original, and accordingly it has suppress'd Vice and Immorality in all the Countries where it has had a Footing: It has civiliz'd Nations, and reform'd the very Tempers of its Professors: Christianity and Humanity has gone Hand and Hand in the World; and there is so visible a difference between the other Civiliz'd Governments in the World, and those who now are under the Protestant Powers, that it carries its Evidence in it self.

The Reformation, begun in *England* in the Days of King *Edward* the Sixth, and afterwards gloriously finished by Queen *Elizabeth*, brought the *English* Nation to such a degree of Humanity, and Sobriety of Conversation, as we have reason to doubt will hardly be seen again in our Age.

In King *James* the First's time, the Court affecting something more of Gallantry and Gaiety, Luxury got footing; and Twenty Years Peace, together with no extraordinary Examples from the Court, gave too great Encouragement to Licentiousness.

If it took footing in King *James* the First's time, it took a deep Root in the Reign of his Son; and the Liberty given the Soldiery in the Civil War, dispers'd all manner of

Prophaneness throughout the Kingdom. That Prince, though very Pious in his own Person and Practice, had the Misfortune to be the first King of *England*, and perhaps in the whole World, that ever establish'd Wickedness by a Law: By what unhappy Council, or secret ill Fate he was guided to it, is hard to determine; but the *Book of Sports*, as it was called, that Book to tolerate the Exercise of all Sorts of Pastimes on the Lord's Day, tended more to the vitiating the Practice of this Kingdom, *as to keeping that Day*, than all the Acts of Parliament, Proclamations, and Endeavours of future Princes have done, or perhaps ever will do, to reform it.

And yet the People of *England* express'd a general sort of an Aversion to that Liberty; *and some*, as if gluttred with too much Freedom, when the Reins of Law were taken off, refused that Practice they allow'd themselves in before.

In the time of King *Charles* the Second, Lewdness and all manner of Debauchery arriv'd at its Meridian: The Encouragement it had from the Practice and Allowance of the Court, is an invincible Demonstration how far the Influence of our Governors extends in the Practice of the People.

The present King and his late Queen, whose Glorious Memory will be dear to the Nation as long as the World stands, have had all this wicked Knot to unravel. This was the first thing the Queen set upon while the King was engaged in his Wars abroad: She first gave all sorts of Vice a general Discouragement; and on the contrary, rais'd the value of Virtue and Sobriety by her Royal Example. The King having brought the War to a Glorious Conclusion, and settled an Honourable Peace, in his very first Speech in his Parliament proclaims a New War

against Prophaneness and Immorality, and goes on also to discourage the Practice of it by the like Royal Example.

Thus the Work is begun nobly and regularly; and the Parliament, the General Representative of the Nation, readily pursues it by enacting Laws to suppress all manner of Prophaneness, &c.

These are Great Things, and well improv'd, would give an undoubted Overthrow to the Tyranny of Vice, and the Dominion Prophaneness has usurp'd in the hearts of men.

But we of the *Plebeii* find our selves justly aggrieved in all this Work of Reformation; and the Partiality of this Reforming Rigor makes the real Work impossible: Wherefore we find our selves forced to seek Redress of our Grievances in the old honest way of Petitioning Heaven to relieve us: And in the mean time, we solemnly Enter our Protestation against all the Vicious Part of the Nobility and Gentry of the Nation; as follows:

First, We Protest, That we do not find impartially enquiring into the matter, and speaking of Moral Goodness, that you are one jot better than we are, *your Dignities, Estates and Quality excepted*. 'Tis true, we are all bad enough, and we are willing in good Manners to agree, that we are as wicked as you; but we cannot find on the exactest Scrutiny, but that in the Commonwealth of Vice, the Devil has taken care to level Poor and Rich into one Class, and is fairly going on to make us all Graduates in the last degree of Immorality.

Secondly, We do not find that all the Proclamations, Declarations, and Acts of Parliament yet made, have any *effective Power* to punish *you* for your Immoralities, as they do us. Now, while *you* make Laws to punish *us*, and let *your selves* go free, though guilty of the same Vices and

Immoralities, those Laws are unjust and unequal in themselves.

'Tis true, the Laws do not express a Liberty to *you*, and a Punishment to *us*; and therefore the King and Parliament are free, as King and Parliament, from this our Appeal; but the Gentry and Magistrates of the Kingdom, while they execute those Laws upon us the poor Commons, and themselves practising the same Crimes, in defiance of the Laws both of God and Man, go unpunish'd; *This* is the Grievance we protest against, as unjust and unequal.

Wherefore, till the Nobility, Gentry, Justices of the Peace, and Clergy, will be pleased either to reform their own Manners, and suppress their own Immoralities, or find out some Method and Power impartially to punish themselves when guilty, we humbly crave leave to object against setting any Poor Man in the Stocks, and sending them to the House of Correction for Immoralities, as the most unequal and unjust way of proceeding in the World.

And now, Gentlemen,

That this Protestation may not seem a little too rude, and a Breach of good Manners to our Superiors, we crave Leave to subjoin our Humble Appeal to your selves; and will for once, knowing you as *English* Gentlemen, to be Men of Honour, *make you Judges in your own Case.*

First, Gentlemen, We appeal to your selves, whether ever it be likely to perfect the Reformation of Manners in this Kingdom, without you: Whether Laws to punish us, without your Example also to influence us, will ever bring the Work to pass.

The first Step from a loose vicious Practice in this Nation, was begun by King *Edward* the Sixth, back'd by a Reform'd Clergy, and a Sober Nobility: Queen *Elizabeth*

carried it on. 'Twas the Kings and the Gentry which first again degenerated from that strict Observation of Moral Virtues, and from thence carried Vice on to that degree it now appears in. From the Court Vice took its *Progress* into the Countrey; and in the Families of the Gentry and Nobility it harbour'd, till it took heart under their Protection; and made a general Sally into the Nation; and We the Poor Commons, who have been always easy to be guided by the Example of our Landlords and Gentlemen, have really been debauch'd into Vice by their Examples: And it must be the *Example of you the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom*, that must put a Stop to the Flood of Vice and Prophaneness which is broken in upon the Countrey, or it will never be done.

Our Laws against all manner of Vicious Practices are already very severe: But Laws are useless insignificant things, if the Executive Power which lies in the Magistrate be not exerted. The Justices of the Peace have the Power to punish, but if they do not put forth that Power, 'tis all one as if they had none at all: Some have possibly exerted this Power; but wherever it has been so put forth, it has fallen upon us the poor Commons: These are all Cobweb Laws, in which the small Flies are catch'd, and great ones break through. My Lord-Mayor has whipt about the poor Beggars, and a few scandalous Whores have been sent to the House of Correction; some Ale-housekeepers and Vintners have been Fin'd for drawing Drink on the Sabbath-day; but all this falls upon us of the Mob, the poor *Plebeii*, as if all the Vice lay among us; for we do not find the Rich Drunkard carri'd before my Lord Mayor, nor a Swearing Lewd Merchant Fin'd, or Set in the Stocks. *The Man with a Gold Ring, and Gay Cloths*, may Swear before the Justice, or at the Justice;

may reel home through the open Streets, and no man take any notice of it; but if a poor man get drunk, or swear an Oath, he must to the Stocks without Remedy.

In the second place, We appeal to your selves, Whether Laws or Proclamations are capable of having any Effect towards a Reformation of Manners, while the very Benches of our Justices are infected with the scandalous Vices of Swearing and Drunkenness; while our Justices themselves shall punish a Man for Drunkenness, with a *God damn him, set him in the Stocks*: And if Laws and Proclamations are useless in the Case, then they are good for nothing, and had as good be let alone as publish'd.

'Tis hard, Gentlemen, to be punish'd for a Crime, by a Man as guilty as our selves; and that the Figure a Man makes in the World, must be the reason why he shall or shall not be liable to the Law: This is really punishing men for being poor, which is no Crime at all; as a Thief may be said to be hang'd, not for the Fact, but for being taken.

We further Appeal to your selves, Gentlemen, to inform us, whether there be any particular reason why you should be allow'd the full Career of your corrupt Appetites, without the Restraint of Laws, while you yourselves agree that such Offences shall be punished in us, and do really Execute the Law upon the Poor People, when brought before you for the same things.

Wherefore, That the Work of Reformation of Manners may go on, and be brought to Perfection, to the Glory of God, and the great Honour of the King and Parliament: That Debauchery and Prophaneness, Drunkenness, Whoring, and all sort of Immoralities may be suppress'd, we humbly propose the Method which may effectually accomplish so great a Work.

(1.) That the Gentry and Clergy, who are the Leaders of us poor ignorant people, and our Lights erected on high places to guide and govern us, would in the first place put a voluntary force upon themselves, and effectually reform their own Lives, their way of Conversing, and their common Behaviour among their Servants and Neighbours.

1. The Gentry. They are the Original of the Modes, and Customs, and Manners of their Neighbours; and their Examples *in the Countries especially* are very moving. There are three several Vices, which have the principal Management of the greatest part of Mankind, *viz.* Drunkenness, Swearing, and Whoring; all of them very ill becoming a Gentleman, however Custom may have made them Modish: Where none of these Three are in a House, there is certainly something of a Plantation of God in the Family; for they are such Epidemick Distempers, that hardly Humane Nature is entirely free from them.

1. Drunkenness, that Brutish Vice; a Sin so sordid, and so much a Force upon Nature, that had God Almighty enjoyn'd it as a Duty, I believe many a Man would have ventur'd the Loss of Heaven, rather than have perform'd it. The Pleasure of it seems to be so secretly hid, that wild Heathen Nations know nothing of the matter; 'tis only discover'd by the wise people of these *Northern* Countries, who are grown Proficients in Vice, Philosophers in Wickedness, who can extract a Pleasure to themselves in losing their Understanding, and make themselves sick at heart for their Diversion.

If the History of this well-bred Vice was to be written, 'twould plainly appear that it begun among the Gentry, and from them was handed down to the poorer sort, who

still love to be like their Betters. After the Restitution of King *Charles* the Second, when drinking the King's Health became the distinction between a *Cavalier* and a *Roundhead*, Drunkenness *began its Reign*, and it has Reign'd almost Forty Years: The Gentry caress'd this Beastly Vice at such a Rate, that no Companion, no Servant was thought proper, unless he could bear a Quantity of Wine; And to this day 'tis added to the Character of a Man, as an additional Title, when you speak well of him, *He is an honest drunken Fellow*; as if his Drunkenness was a Recommendation of his Honesty. From the practice of this nasty Faculty, our Gentlemen have arriv'd to the teaching of it; and that it might be effectually preserv'd to the next Age, have very early instructed the Youth in it. Nay, so far has Custom prevail'd, that the Top of a Gentleman's Entertainment has been to make his Friend drunk; and the Friend is so much reconcil'd to it, that he takes that for the effect of his Kindness, which he ought as much to be affronted at, as if he had kick'd him down Stairs: Thus 'tis become a Science; and but that the Instruction proves so easy, and the Youth too apt to learn, possibly we might have had a Colledge erected for it before now. The further perfection of this Vice among the Gentry, will appear in two things; that 'tis become the Subject of their Glory, and the way of expressing their Joy for any publick Blessing. *Jack*, said a Gentleman of very high Quality, when after the Debate in the House of Lords, King *William* was voted into the vacant Throne; *Jack* (says he) *God damn ye Jack, go home to your Lady, and tell her we have got a Protestant King and Queen; and go and make a Bonfire as big as a House, and bid the Butler make ye all Drunk, ye Dog*: Here was Sacrificing to the Devil, for a Thanksgiving to God. Other Vices are committed as

Vices, and men act them in private, and are willing to hide them; but Drunkenness they are so fond of, that they will glory in it, boast of it, and endeavour to promote it as much as possible in others: 'Tis a Triumph to a Champion of the Bottle, to repeat how many Quarts of Wine he has drank at a sitting, and how he made such and such honest Fellows drunk. Men *Lye* and *Forswear*, and *hide it*, and are *asham'd of it*, as indeed they have reason to do: But Drunkenness and Whoring are Accomplishments People value themselves upon, repeat them with pleasure, and affect a sort of Vanity in the History; are content all the World should be Witnesses of their Intemperance, have made the Crime a Badge of Honour to their Breeding, and introduce the practice as a Fashion. And whoever gives himself the trouble to reflect on the Custom of our Gentlemen in their Families, encouraging and promoting this Vice of Drunkenness among the poor Commons, will not think it a Scandal upon the Gentry of *England*, if we say, That the Mode of drinking, as 'tis now practised, had its Original from the Practice of the Country-Gentlemen, and they again from the Court.

It may be objected, and God forbid it should not, That there are a great many of our Nobility and Gentlemen, who are Men of Honour and Men of Morals; and therefore this Charge is not universal. To which we answer, 'Tis universal for all that, because those very Gentlemen, though they are negatively clear as to the Commission of the Crimes we speak of, yet are positively guilty, in not executing that Power the Law has put into their hands, with an Impartial Vigor. For where was that Gentleman or Justice of the Peace ever yet found, who executed the Terms of the Law upon a Drunken, Swearing, Lewd Gentleman, his Neighbour, but the Quality of the Per-

son has been a License to the open Exercise of the worst of Crimes; as if there were any Baronets, Knights, or Squires in the next World; who because of those little steps Custom had raised them on, higher than their Neighbours, should be exempted from the Divine Judicature; or that as Captain *Vrats* said, who was Hang'd for Murth'ring Esquire *Tbynn*, *God would show them some respect as they were Gentlemen.*

If there were any reason why a rich Man should be permitted in the publick Exercise of Open Immoralities, and not the poor Man, something might be said: But if there be any difference it lies the other way; for the Vices of a Poor Man affect only himself; but the Rich Man's Wickedness affects all the Neighbourhood, gives offence to the Sober, encourages and hardens the Lewd, and quite overthrows the weak Resolutions of such as are but indifferently fix'd in their Virtue and Morality. *If my own Watch goes false, it deceives me and none else; but if the Town-Clock goes false, it deceives the whole Parish.* The Gentry are the Leaders of the Mob; if they are Lewd and Drunken, the others strive to imitate them; if they Discourage Vice and Intemperance, the other will not be so forward in it, nor so fond of it.

To think then to effect a Reformation by Punishing the Poor, while the Rich seem to Enjoy a Charter for Wickedness, is like *taking away the Effect, that the Cause may cease.*

We find some People very fond of Monopolizing a Vice, they would have all of it to themselves; they must, as my Lord *Rochester* said of himself, *Sin like a Lord*; little sneaking Sins won't serve turn; but they must be Lewd at a rate above the Common Size, to let the World see they are capable of it.

Our Laws seem to take no Cognizance of such, perhaps for the same reason that *Lycurgus* made no Law against *Parricide*, because he would not have the Sin named among his Citizens.

Now the Poor Man sees no such Dignity in Vice, as to study Degrees; we are downright in Wickedness, as we are in our Dealings; if we are Drunk, 'tis plain Drunkenness; Swearing and Whoring, is all Blunderbus with us; we don't affect such Niceties in our Conversation; and the Justices use us accordingly; nothing but the Stocks, or the House of Correction is the Case, when we are brought before them; but when our Masters the Gentlemen come to their Refin'd Practice, and Sin by the Rules of Quality, we find nothing comes of it but false Heraldry, the Vice is punish'd by the Vice, and the Punishment renews the Crime.

The Case in short is this; the Lewdness, Prophaneness and Immorality of the Gentry, which is the main Cause of the General Debauchery of the Kingdom, is not at all toucht by our Laws, as they are now Executed; and while it remains so, the Reformation of Manners can never be brought to pass, nor Prophaneness and Immorality Suppress'd; and therefore the punishing the Poor distinctly, is a Mock upon the good Designs of the King and Parliament; an Act of Injustice upon them to punish them, and let others who are as guilty go free; and a sort of Cruelty too, in taking the advantage of their Poverty to make them suffer, because they want Estates to purchase their Exemption.

We have some weak Excuses for this Matter, which must be considered: As,

(1.) The Justice of the Peace is a *Passive Magistrate*, till an Information be brought before him, and is not to take

notice of any thing, but as it is laid in Fact, and brought to an Affidavit. Now if an Affidavit be made before a Justice, that such or such a man Swore, or was Drunk, he must, he cannot avoid Fining him; the Law obliges him to it, let his Quality be what it will; so that the Defect is not in the Law, nor in the Justice, but in the want of Information.

(2.) The Name of an Evidence or Informer is so scandalous, that to attempt to inform against a man for the most open Breach of the Laws of Morality, is enough to denominate a Man unfit for Society; a Rogue and an Informer are Synonimous in the Vulgar Acception; so much is the real Detection of the openest Crimes against God, and Civil Government, Discouraged and Avoided.

(3.) The Impossibility of the Cure is such and the Habit has so obtain'd upon all Mankind, that it seems twisted with Human Nature, as an Appendix to Natural Frailty, which it is impossible to separate from it.

For Answer;

1. 'Tis true, the Justice of the Peace is in some respect a *Passive Magistrate*, and does not act but by Information, but such Information would be brought if it were encouraged; if Justices of the Peace did acquaint themselves with their Neighbourhood, they would soon hear of the Immoralities of the Parish; and if they did impartially Execute the Law on such as offended, without respect of Person, they would soon have an Account of the Persons and Circumstances. Besides, 'tis not want of Information, but want of punishing what they have Information of. A Poor Man informs against a Great Man, the Witness is discouraged, the man goes unpunish'd, and the Poor Man gets the scandal of an Informer; and then 'tis but too often that our Justices are not men of extraordinary Mor-

als themselves; and who shall Inform a Justice of the Peace that such a man Swore, when he may be heard to Swear himself as fast as another? or who shall bring a man before a Justice for being Drunk, when the Justice is so Drunk himself, he cannot order him to be set in the Stocks?

(2.) Besides, the Justice has a power to punish any Fact he himself sees committed, and to enquire into any he hears of casually; and if he will stand still and see those Acts of Immorality committed before his Face, who shall bring a Poor Man before him to be punished? Thus I have heard a Thousand horrid Oaths sworn on a Bowling-Green, in the presence of a Justice of the Peace, and he take no notice of it, and go home the next hour, and set a man in the Stocks for being Drunk.

As to the Scandal of Informing, *'tis an Error in Custom*, and a great Sin against Justice; 'tis necessary indeed that all Judgment should be according to Evidence, and to discourage Evidence, is to discourage Justice; but that a man in Trial of the Morality of his Neighbour, should be ashamed to appear, must have some particular Cause.

(1.) It proceeds from the Modishness of the Vice; it has so obtain'd upon mens Practices, that to appear against what almost all men approve, seems malicious, and has a certain prospect either of Revenge, or of a Mercenary Wretch, that Informs meerly to get a Reward. 'Tis true, if no Reward be plac'd upon an Information, no man will take the trouble; and again, if too great a Reward, Men of Honour shun the thing, because they scorn the Fee; and to Inform meerly for the Fee, has something of a Rascal in it too; and from these Reasons arises the backwardness of the People.

The very same Rich men we speak of are the persons

who discourage the Discovery of Vice, by scandalizing the Informer; a man that is any thing of a Gentleman scorns it, and the Poor still Mimick the Humour of the Rich, and hate an Informer as they do the Devil. 'Tis strange the Gentleman should be asham'd to detect the Breach of those Laws, which they were not asham'd to make; but the very Name of an Informer has gain'd so black an Idea in the minds of People, because some who have made a Trade of Informing against People for Religion, have misbehaved themselves, that truly 'twill be hard to bring any man either of Credit or Quality to attempt it.

But the main thing which makes our Gentlemen backward in the prosecution of Vice, is their practising the same Crimes themselves, and they have so much wicked Modesty and Generosity in them, being really no Enemies to the thing it self, that they cannot with any sort of freedom punish in others, what they practice themselves.

In the Times of Executing the Laws against Dissenters, we found a great many Gentlemen very Vigorous in prosecuting their Neighbours; they did not stick to appear in Person to disturb Meetings, and demolish the Meeting Houses, and rather than fail, would be Informers themselves; the reason was because they had also a dislike to the thing; but we never found a Dissenting Gentleman, or Justice of the Peace forward to do thus, because they approved of it. Now were our Gentlemen and Magistrates real Enemies to the Immoralities of this Age, did they really hate Drunkenness as a Vice, they would be forward and zealous to root the practice of it out of the Neighbourhood, they would not be backward or asham'd to detect Vice, to disturb Drunken Assemblies,

to disperse those Plantations of Leachery, the Publick Bawdy-Houses, which are almost as openly allow'd as the *Burdelloes* in *Italy*. They would be willing to have all sorts of Vices Suppress'd, and glory in putting their Hands to the Work; they would not be asham'd to appear in the detecting Debauchery, nor afraid to embroil themselves with their Rich Neighbours. 'Tis Guilt of the same Fact which makes Connivance, and till that Guilt be removed, the Gentlemen of *England* neither will, nor can indeed with any kind of Honour put their hands to the Reforming it in their Neighbours.

But I think 'tis easy to make it appear that this difficulty of Informing may be removed, and there need not be much occasion for that Scandalous Employment.

'Tis in the Power of the Gentry of *England* to Reform the whole Kingdom without either Laws, Proclamations, or Informers; and without their Concurrence, all the Laws, Proclamations, and Declarations in the World will have no Effect; the Vigour of the Laws consists in their Executive Power: Ten thousand Acts of Parliament signify no more than One single Proclamation, unless the Gentlemen, in whose hands the Execution of those Laws is placed, take care to see them duly made use of; and how can Laws be duly Executed, but by an Impartial Distribution of equal Rewards and Punishments, without regard to the Quality and Degree of the Persons? The Laws push on the Justices now, and they take care to go no faster than they are driven; but would the Justices push on the Laws, Vice would flee before them as Dust in the Wind, and Immoralities would be soon Suppress'd; but it can never be expected that the Magistrates should push on the Laws to a free Suppression of Immoralities, till they Reform themselves, and their Great Neighbours

Reform themselves, that there may be none to punish who are too big for the Magistrate to venture upon.

Would the Gentry of *England* decry the Modishness of Vice by their own Practice; would they dash it out of Countenance by disowning it; that Drunkenness and Oaths might once come into *disesteem*, and be out of Fashion, and a man be valued the less for them; that he that will Swear, and be Drunk, shall be counted a *Rake*, and not fit for a Gentleman's Company: This would do more to Reforming the rest of Mankind, than all the Punishments the Law can inflict; the Evil encreased by Example, and must be suppress'd the same way. If the Gentry were thus Reform'd, their Families would be so too: No Servant would be Entertain'd, no Workman Employ'd, no Shopkeeper would be Traded with by a Gentleman, but such as like themselves, were Sober and Honest; *a Lewd, Vicious, Drunken Footman must Reform or Starve*, he would get no Service; a Servant once turn'd away for Intemperance, would be entertain'd by no body else; *a Swearing Debauch'd Labourer or Workman must Reform, or no body would Employ him*; the Drunken whoring Shop-keeper must grow Sober, or lose all his Customers, and be Undone. *Interest and Good Manners would Reform us* of the poorer sort, there would be no need of the Stocks or Houses of Correction; *we should be sober of course, because we should be all Beggars else*; and he that lov'd his Vice so dearly as to purchase it with the loss of his Trade or Employment, *would soon grow too poor for his Vice, and be forced to leave it by his own Necessities*; there would be no need of Informers, a Vicious Fellow would be presently Notorious, he would be the Talk of the Town, every one would slight and shun him for fear of being thought like him by being seen in his Company;

he would expose himself, and would be punish'd [and] as unpitied as a Thief.

So that in short, the whole Weight of this Blessed Work of Reformation lies on the shoulders of the Gentry; they are the Cause of our Defection, which being taken away, the Effect would cease of course, Vice would grow Scandalous, and all Mankind would be asham'd of it.

(2.) The Clergy also ought not to count themselves exempted in this matter, whose Lives have been, and in some places still are so Vicious and so loose, that 'tis well for *England* we are not subject to be much *Priest-ridden*.

'Tis a strange thing how it shou'd be otherwise than it is with us the poor Commonalty, when the Gentry our Patern, and the Clergy our Teachers, are as Immoral as we. And then to consider the Coherence of the thing; *the Parson preaches a thundering Sermon against Drunkenness, and the Justice of Peace sets my poor Neighbour in the Stocks, and I am like to be much the better for either, when I know perhaps that this same Parson and this same Justice were both Drunk together but the Night before.*

It may be true, for ought we know, that a Wicked Parson may make a good Sermon; and the *Spanish* Proverb, may be true of the Soul as well as the Body. *If the Cure be but wrought, let the Devil be the Doctor*; but this does not take with the downright ignorant People in the Country; a poor Man gets Drunk in a Country Ale-house, *Why, are you not asham'd to be such a Beast, says a good honest Neighbour to him the next day?* Asham'd, says the Fellow! Why should I be asham'd? Why, there was Sir *John*—— and Sir *Robert* and the Parson, and they were all as Drunk as I. And why a Beast, Pray? I heard Sir *Robert* say, That

*He that Drinks least,
Drinks most like a Beast.*

A Vicious Parson that preaches well, but lives ill, may be like an unskilful Horseman, who opens a Gate on the wrong side, and lets other Folks through, but shuts himself out. This may be possible, but it seems most reasonable to think they are a means by that sort of living, to hinder both themselves and others; and would the Gentry and Clergy of *England* but look back a little on the Guilt that really lies on them, as Gentlemen by whose Example so great a part of Mankind has been led into, and encourag'd in the Progress of Vice, they would find Matter of very serious reflection.

This Article of the Clergy may seem to lie in the power of their Superiors to rectify, and therefore may be something more feasible than the other; but the Gentry who are *Sui juris*, can no way be reduced but by their own voluntary practice. We are in *England* exceedingly govern'd by Modes and Customs. The Gentry may effectually Suppress Vice, would they but put it out of Fashion; but to suppress it by Force seems impossible.

The Application of this rough Doctrine is in short both to the Gentry and Clergy, *Physicians, Heal your selves*; if you will leave off your Drunkenness and Lewdness first, if we do not follow you, then set us in the Stocks, and send us to the House of Correction, and punish us as you please; if you will leave off Whoring first, then Brand us in the Foreheads, or Transport or Hang us for Fornication or Adultery, and you are welcome; but to preach against Drunkenness immediately after an Evening's Debauch; to Correct a poor Fellow for Swearing with the very Vice in your Mouths; these are the unjustest ways

in the World, and have in themselves no manner of tendency towards the Reformation of Manners, which is the true Design of the Law.

'Tis acknowledg'd there are in *England* a great many Sober, Pious, Religious Persons, both among the Gentry and Clergy, and 'tis hop'd such cannot think themselves Libell'd or Injur'd in this Plea; if there were not, Laws would never have been made against those Vices, *for no men make Laws to punish themselves*; 'tis design'd to reflect upon none but such as are Guilty, and on them no farther than to put them in mind how much the Nation owes its present Degeneracy to their folly, and how much it is in their Power to Reform it again by their Example; that the King may not publish Proclamations, nor the Parliament make Laws to no purpose; but that we might live in *England* once more like Christians, and like Gentlemen, to the Glory of God, and the Honour of the present King and Parliament, who so publickly have attempted the great Work of Reformation among us, though hitherto to so little purpose.

FINIS

The True-Born *Englishman*:

A SATYR

*Statuimus Pacem, & Securitatem, & Concordiam Judicium
& Justitiam inter Anglos & Normannos, Francos &
Britones, Walliæ & Cornubiæ, Pictos & Scotos Al-
banix, similiter inter Francos & Insulanos Provincias, &
Patrias, quæ pertinent ad Coronam nostram, & inter
omnes nobis Subiectos, firmiter & inviolabiliter observari.*

Charta Regis Willielmi Conquistoris de Pacis
Publica, Cap. I.

Printed in the Year MDCCI

THE TRUE-BORN ENGLISHMAN, a Satyr, one of the most famous of the shorter pieces of Defoe, was published in January, 1701 (4to, 2 leaves, pages 71), although the title-page is dated 1700. Within a few months of its publication, it had passed through numerous editions. The ninth edition, dated 1701, contains a long explanatory Preface by Defoe, and this preface appears in most of the subsequent editions. Many pirated editions were put upon the market, most of which, judging by those we have examined, were wretchedly printed, on coarse paper, and octavo in size. These were sold for one penny, two-pence, and six-pence. It is stated that over 80,000 of these cheap editions were sold on the streets of London. The later editions, published in 1716, 1719, and 1721, all claim to be enlarged or corrected by the author.

The present text has been set up from the text given in A True Collection of the Writings of the True-Born Englishman, 1703, but the proofs have been corrected by reference to earlier editions, more particularly the first, second and the ninth editions. The lines omitted in the second and subsequent editions have been restored, such restorations being enclosed within square brackets.

AN EXPLANATORY PREFACE

IT is not that I see any Reason to alter my Opinion in any thing I have writ, which occasions this Epistle; but I find it necessary for the satisfaction of some Persons of Honour, as well as Wit, to pass a short Explication upon it, and tell the World what I mean, or rather, what I do not mean, in some things wherein I find I am liable to be misunderstood.

I confess my self something surpriz'd to hear that I am tax'd with Bewraying my own Nest, and Abusing our Nation, by Discovering the Meanness of our Original, in order to make the *English* contemptible abroad and at home; in which, I think, they are mistaken: For why should not our Neighbours be as good as We to Derive from? And I must add, That had we been an unmix'd Nation, I am of Opinion it had been to our Disadvantage: For to go no farther, we have three Nations about us as clear from Mixtures of Blood as any in the World, and I know not which of them I could wish our selves to be like; I mean the *Scots*, the *Welsh*, and the *Irish*; and if I were to write a Reverse to the *Satyr*, I would examine all the Nations of *Europe*, and prove, That those Nations which are most mix'd, are the best, and have least of Barbarism and Brutality among them; and abundance of Reasons might be given for it, too long to bring into a *Preface*.

But I give this Hint, to let the World know, that I am far from thinking, 'tis a *Satyr* upon the *English* Nation, to tell them, they are Derived from all the Nations under Heaven; that is, *from several Nations*. Nor is it meant to undervalue the Original of the *English*, for we see no reason to like them worse, being the Relicks of *Romans*, *Danes*, *Saxons* and *Normans*, than we should have done if they

24 THE TRUE-BORN ENGLISHMAN

had remain'd *Britains*, that is, *than if they had been all Welshmen*.

But the Intent of the *Satyr* is pointed at the Vanity of those who talk of their Antiquity, and value themselves upon their Pedigree, their Ancient Families, and being *True-Born*; whereas 'tis impossible we should be *True-Born*; and if we could, shou'd have lost by the Bargain.

These sort of People, who call themselves *True-Born*, and tell long Stories of their Families, and like a Nobleman of *Venice*, *Think a Foreigner ought not to walk on the same side of the Street with them*, are own'd to be meant in this *Satyr*. What they would infer from their long Original, I know not, nor is it easie to make out whether they are the better or the worse for their Ancestors: Our *English* Nation may Value themselves for their *Wit, Wealth* and *Courage*, and I believe few Nations will dispute it with them; but for long Originals, and Ancient *True-Born* Families of *English*, I wou'd advise them to wave the Discourse. A *True English* Man is one that deserves a Character, and I have no were lessened him, that I know of; but as for a *True-Born English Man*, I confess I do not understand him.

From hence I only infer, That an *English* Man, of all Men, ought not to dispise Foreigners *as such*, and I think the Inference is just, since *what they are to day, we were yesterday, and to morrow they will be like us*. If Foreigners misbehave in their several Stations and Employments, *I have nothing to do with that*; the Laws are open to punish them equally with Natives, and let them have no Favour.

But when I see the Town full of Lampoons and Invectives against *Dutchmen*, *Only because they are Foreigners*, and the King Reproched and Insulted by Insolent Pedants, and Ballad-making Poets, for employing Foreign-

ers, and for being a Foreigner himself, I confess my self moved by it to remind our Nation of their own Original, thereby to let them see what a Banter is put upon our selves in it; since speaking of *English-men ab Origine*, we are really all Foreigners our selves.

I could go on to prove 'tis also Impolitick in us to discourage Foreigners; since 'tis easie to make it appear that the multitudes of Foreign Nations who have taken Sanctuary here, have been the greatest Additions to the Wealth and Strength of the Nation; the great Essential whereof is the Number of its Inhabitants: Nor would this Nation have ever arriv'd to the Degree of Wealth and Glory, it now boasts of, if the addition of Foreign Nations, both as to Manufactures and Arms, had not been helpful to it. This is so plain, that he who is ignorant of it, is too dull to be talk'd with.

The *Satyr* therefore I must allow to be just, till I am otherwise convinc'd; because nothing can be more ridiculous, than to hear our People boast of that Antiquity, which if it had been true, would have left us in so much worse a Condition than we are in now: Whereas we ought rather to boast among our Neighbours, that we are part of themselves, of the same Original as they, but better'd by our Climate, and like our Language and Manufactures, deriv'd from them, and improv'd by us to a Perfection greater than they can pretend to.

This we might have valued our selves upon without Vanity: But to disown our Descent from them, talk big of our Ancient Families, and long Originals, and stand at a distance from Foreigners, like the *Enthusiast* in Religion, with a *Stand off*, *I am more holy than thou*: This is a thing so ridiculous, in a Nation deriv'd from Foreigners, as we are, that I could not but attack them as I have done.

And whereas I am threatened to be call'd to a Publick Account for this Freedom; and the Publisher of this has been *News-paper'd* into Goal already for it; tho' I see nothing in it for which the Government can be displeased; yet if at the same time those People who with an unlimited Arrogance in Print, every Day *Affront the King, Prescribe the Parliament, and Lampoon the Government*, may be either Punished or Restrained, I am content to stand and fall by the publick Justice of my Native Country; which I am not sensible I have any where injur'd.

Nor would I be misunderstood concerning the Clergy; with whom if I have taken any License more than becomes a *Satyr*, I question not but those Gentlemen, who are Men of Letters, are also Men of so much Candor, as to allow me a Loose at the Crimes of the Guilty, without thinking the whole Profession lash'd, who are Innocent. I profess to have very mean Thoughts of those Gentlemen who have deserted their own Principles, and expos'd even their Morals as well as Loyalty; but not at all to think it affects any but such as are concern'd in the Fact.

Nor would I be misrepresented as to the Ingratitude of the *English* to the King and his Friends; as if I meant the *English as a Nation*, are so. The contrary is so apparent, that I would hope it should not be Suggested of me: And therefore when I have brought in *Britannia* Speaking of the King, I suppose her to be the Representative or Mouth of the Nation, as a Body. But if I say we are full of such who daily affront the King, and abuse his Friends; who Print scurrilous Pamphlets, virulent Lampoons, and reprochful publick Banters, against both the King's Person and his Government; I say nothing but what is too true; And that the *Satyr* is directed at such, I freely own; and cannot say, but I shou'd think it very hard to be Cen-

sur'd for this *Satyr*, while such remain Unquestion'd and tacitly approv'd. That I can mean none but such, is plain from these few Lines, Page 59.

*Ye Heavens regard! Almighty Jove, look down,
And view thy injur'd Monarch on the Throne,
On their ungrateful heads due Vengeance take,
Who sought his Aid, and then his Part forsake.*

If I have fallen rudely upon our Vices, I hope none but the Vicious will be angry. As for Writing for Interest I disown it; I have neither *Place* nor *Pension*, nor *Prospect*; nor *seek none*, nor will *have none*: If matter of Fact justifies the Truth of the Crimes, the *Satyr* is just. As to the Poetick Liberties I hope the Crime is pardonable: I am content to be Ston'd, provided none will Attack me but the Innocent.

If my Country-Men would take the Hint, and grow better Natur'd from my *ill-natur'd Poem*, as some call it; I would say this of it, that tho' it is far from the best *Satyr* that ever was Wrote, 'twould do the most Good that ever *Satyr* did.

And yet I am ready to ask Pardon of some Gentlemen to; who tho' they are *English-men*, have good Nature enough to see themselves Reprov'd, and can hear it. These are Gentlemen in a true Sense, that can bear to be told of their *Faux Pas*, and not abuse the reprover. To such I must say, this is no *Satyr*; they are Exceptions to the General Rule; and I value my Performance from their Generous Approbation, more than I can from any Opinion I have of its Worth.

The hasty Errors of my Verse I made my Excuse for before; and since the time I have been upon it has been but little, and my Leisure less, I have all along strove

rather to make the Thoughts Explicite, than the Poem Correct. However, I have mended some Faults in this Edition, *and the rest must be plac'd to my account.*

As to Answers, Banters, *True English Billingsgate*, I expect them till no body will buy, and then the Shop will be shut. Had I wrote it for the Gain of the Press, I should have been concern'd at its being Printed again and again, by *Pirates*, as they call them, and *Paragraph-Men*: But would they but do it Justice, and print it True, according to the Copy, they are welcome to sell it for a Penny, if they please.

The Pence indeed is the End of their Works. I'll engage, if no body will Buy, no body will Write: And not a Patriot Poet of them all now will in Defence of his Native Country *which I have abus'd, they say*, Print an *Answer* to it, and give it about for *God's sake*.

THE PREFACE

THE *End of Satyr is Reformation: And the Author, tho' he doubts the Work of Conversion is at a general Stop, has put his Hand to the Plow.*

I expect a Storm of Ill Language from the Fury of the Town, and especially from those whose English Talent it is to Rail: And without being taken for a Conjurer, I may venture to foretel, that I shall be Cavil'd at about my Mean Stile, Rough Verse, and Incorrect Language; Things I might indeed have taken more Care in. But the Book is Printed; and tho' I see some Faults, 'tis too late to mend them: And this is all I think needful to say to them.

Possibly somebody may take me for a Dutchman; in which they are mistaken: But I am one that would be glad to see Englishmen behave themselves better to Strangers, and to Governors also; that one might not be reproach'd in Foreign Countries for belonging to a Nation that wants Manners.

I assure you, Gentlemen, Strangers use us better abroad; and we can give no reason but our Ill Nature for the contrary here.

Metbinks an Englishman, who is so proud of being call'd A Good-fellow, shou'd be civil: Whereas it cannot be denied but we are in many Cases, and particularly to Strangers, the churlishest People alive.

As to Vices, who can dispute our Intemperance, while an Honest Drunken Fellow is a Character in a Mans Praise? All our Reformations are Banter, and will be so, till our Magistrates and Gentry Reform themselves by way of Example; then, and not till then, they may be expected to punish others without blushing.

As to our Ingratitude, I desire to be understood of that particular People, who pretending to be Protestants, have all along endeavour'd to reduce the Liberties and Religion of this

30 THE TRUE-BORN ENGLISHMAN

Nation into the Hands of King James and his Popish Powers: Together with such who enjoy the Peace and Protection of the present Government, and yet abuse and affront the King who procur'd it, and openly profess their Uneasiness under him: These, by whatsoever Names or Titles they are dignified, or distinguish'd, are the People aim'd at: Nor do I disown, but that it is so much the Temper of an Englishman to abuse his Benefactor, that I could be glad to see it rectified.

They who think I have been guilty of any Error, in exposing the Crimes of my own Countrymen to themselves, may among many honest Instances of the like nature, find the same thing in Mr. Cowly, in his Imitation of the second Olympick Ode of Pindar: His Words are these;

But in this Thankless World, the Givers
Are envy'd even by th' Receivers:
'Tis now the Cheap and Frugal Fashion,
Rather to hide than pay an Obligation.
Nay, 'tis much worse than so;
It now an *Artifice* doth grow,
Wrongs and *Outrages* to do,
Lest Men should think we Owe.

THE INTRODUCTION

SPeak, *Satyr*; for there's none can tell like thee,
Whether 'tis Folly, Pride, or Knavery,
That makes this discontented Land appear
Less happy now in Times of Peace, than War:
Why Civil Feuds disturb the Nation more,
Than all our Bloody Wars have done before.

Fools out of Favour grudge at Knaves in Place,
And men are always honest in Disgrace:
The Court-Preferments make men Knaves in course:
But they which wou'd be in them wou'd be worse.
'Tis not at Foreigners that we repine,
Wou'd Foreigners their Perquisites resign:
The Grand Contention's plainly to be seen,
To get some men put out, and some put in.
For this our Senators make long Harangues.
And florid Members whet their polish'd Tongues.
Statesmen are always sick of one Disease;
And a good Pension gives them present Ease.
That's the Specifick makes them all content
With any King, and any Government.
Good Patriots at Court-Abuses rail,
And all the Nation's Grievances bewail:
But when the *Sov'reign Balsam's* once apply'd,
The Zealot never fails to change his Side;
And when he must the *Golden Key* resign,
The *Railing Spirit* comes about again.

Who shall this Bubbl'd Nation disabuse,
While they their own Felicities refuse?
Who at the Wars have made such mighty Pother,
And now are falling out with one another:

32 THE TRUE-BORN ENGLISHMAN

With needless Fears the Jealous Nation fill,
And always have been sav'd against their Will:
 Who Fifty Millions *Sterling* have disburs'd,
 To be with Peace and too much Plenty curs'd.
 Who their Old Monarch eagerly undo,
 And yet uneasily obey the New.
 Search, *Satyr*, search, a deep Incision make;
 The Poyson's strong, the Antidote's too weak.
 Tis pointed Truth must manage this Dispute,
 And down-right English *Englishmen* confute.

Whet thy just Anger at the Nation's Pride;
 And with keen Phrase repel the Vicious Tide.
 To *Englishmen* their own beginnings show,
And ask them why they slight their Neighbours so.
 Go back to elder Times, and Ages past,
 And Nations into long Oblivion cast;
 To old *Britannia's* Youthful Days retire,
 And there for *True-Born Englishmen* enquire.
Britannia freely will disown the Name,
 And hardly knows her self from whence they came:
 Wonders that They of all men shou'd pretend
 To *Birth* and *Blood*, and for a Name contend.
 Go back to Causes where our Follies dwell,
 And fetch the dark Original from Hell:
 Speak, *Satyr*, for there's none like thee can tell. }

The True-Born Englishman

PART I

WHere-ever God erects a House of Prayer,
The Devil always builds a Chappel there:
And 'twill be found upon Examination,
The latter has the largest Congregation:
For ever since he first debauch'd the Mind,
He made a perfect Conquest of Mankind.
With Uniformity of Service, he
Reigns with a general Aristocracy.
No Nonconforming Sects disturb his Reign,
For of his Yoak there's very few Complain.
He knows the Genius and the Inclination,
And matches proper Sins for ev'ry Nation.
He needs no Standing-Army Government;
He always rules us by our own Consent:
His Laws are easie, and his gentle Sway
Makes it exceeding pleasant to obey.
The List of his Vice-gerents and Commanders,
Out-does your *Cæsars*, or your *Alexanders*.
They never fail of his Infernal Aid,
And he's as certain ne'er to be betray'd.
Thro' all the World they spread his vast Command,
And Death's Eternal Empire is maintain'd.
They rule so politickly and so well,
As if there were *Lords Justices* of Hell.
Duly divided to debauch Mankind,
And plant Infernal Dictates in his Mind.

34 THE TRUE-BORN ENGLISHMAN

Pride, the first Peer, and President of Hell,
 To his share *Spain*, the largest Province, fell.
 The subtle Prince thought fittest to bestow
 On these the Golden Mines of *Mexico*;
 With all the Silver Mountains of *Peru*;
Wealth which would in wise hands the World undo:
 Because he knew their Genius was such;
 Too Lazy and too Haughty to be Rich.
 So proud a People, so above their Fate,
 That if reduc'd to beg, they'll beg in State.
 Lavish of Money, to be counted Brave,
 And Proudly starve, because they scorn to save.
 Never was Nation in the World before,
 So very Rich, and yet so very Poor.

Lust chose the Torrid Zone of *Italy*,
 Were Blood ferments in Rapes and Sodomy:
 Were swelling Veins o'erflow with livid Streams,
 With Heat impregnate from *Vesuvian* Flames:
 Whose flowing Sulphur forms Infernal Lakes,
 And Humane Body of the Soil partakes.
 There Nature ever burns with hot Desires,
 Fann'd with Luxuriant Air from Subterranean Fires:
 Here undisturb'd in Floods of scalding Lust,
 Th'Infernal King reigns with Infernal Gust.

Drunk'ness, the Darling Favourite of Hell,
 Chose *Germany* to Rule; and rules so well,
 No Subjects more obsequiously obey,
 None please so well, or are so pleas'd as they.
 The cunning Artist manages so well,
 He lets them Bow to Heav'n, and Drink to Hell.
 If but to Wine and him they Homage pay,

He cares not to what Deity they Pray,
 What God they worship most, or in what way.
 Whether by *Luther*, *Calvin*, or by *Rome*,
 They sail for Heav'n, by Wine he steers them home.

Ungovern'd Passion settled first in *France*,
 Where Mankind Lives in Haste, and Thrives by Chance,
 A *Dancing Nation*, Fickle and Untrue:
 Have oft undone themselves, and others too:
 Prompt the Infernal Dictates to Obey,
 And in Hell's Favour none more great than they.

The *Pagan* World he blindly leads away,
 And Personally rules with Arbitrary Sway:
 The Mask thrown off, *Plain Devil* his Title stands;
And what elsewhere he Tempts, he there Commands.
 There with full Gust th' Ambition of his Mind
 Governs, as he of old in Heav'n design'd.
 Worship'd as God, his *Painim Altars* smoke,
 Embru'd with Blood of those that him invoke.

The rest by Deputies he Rules as well,
 And plants the distant Colonies of Hell.
 By them his secret Power he well maintains,
And binds the World in his Infernal Chains.

By Zeal the *Irish*; and the *Rush* by Folly:
 Fury the *Dane*: The *Swede* by Melancholly:
 By stupid Ignorance, the *Muscovite*:
 The *Chinese* by a *Child of Hell*, call'd Wit:
 Wealth makes the *Persian* too Effeminate:
 And Poverty the *Tartars* Desperate:
 The *Turks* and *Moors* by *Mah'met* he subdues:

36 THE TRUE-BORN ENGLISHMAN

*And God has given him leave to rule the Jews:
Rage rules the Portuguese; and Fraud the Scotch:
Revenge the Pole; and Avarice the Dutch.*

*Satyr be kind and draw a silent Veil
Thy Native England's Vices to conceal:
Or if that Task's impossible to do
At least be just, and show her Virtues too;
Too Great the first, Alas! the last too Few.*

*England unknown as yet, unpeopled lay;
Happy, had she remain'd so to this Day,
And not to ev'ry Nation been a Prey.
Her Open Harbours, and her Fertile Plains,
The Merchants Glory these, and those the Swains,
To ev'ry Barbarous Nation have betray'd her,
Who Conquer her as oft as they Invade her.
So Beauty guarded but by Innocence,
That ruins her which should be her Defence.*

*Ingratitude, a Devil of Black Renown,
Possess'd her very early for his own.
An Ugly, Surly, Sullen, Selfish Spirit,
Who Satan's worst Perfections does Inherit:
Second to him in Malice and in Force,
All Devil without, and all within him Worse.*

*He made her First-born Race to be so rude,
And suffer'd her to be so oft subdu'd:
By sev'ral Crowds of wand'ring Thieves o'er run,
Often unpeopl'd, and as oft undone.
While ev'ry Nation that her Powers reduc'd,
Their Languages and Manners introduc'd.*

From whose mix'd Relicks our Compounded Breed,
By Spurious Generation does succeed;
Making a Race uncertain and unev'n,
Deriv'd from all the Nations under Heav'n.

The *Romans* first with *Julius Cæsar* came,
Including all the Nations of that Name,
Gauls, *Greeks*, and *Lombards*; and by Computation,
Auxiliaries, or Slaves of ev'ry Nation.
With *Hengist*, *Saxons*; *Danes* with *Sueno* came,
In search of Plunder, not in search of Fame.
Scots, *Picts*, and *Irish* from th' *Hibernian* Shore;
And Conqu'ring *William* brought the *Normans* o'er.

All these their Barb'rous Off-spring left behind
The Dregs of Armies, they of all Mankind;
Blended with *Britains* who before were here,
Of whom the *Welsh* ha' blest the Character.

From this Amphibious Ill-born Mob began
That vain ill natur'd thing, an Englishman.
The Customs, Surnames, Languages, and Manners,
Of all these Nations are their own Explainers:
Whose Relicks are so lasting and so strong,
They ha' left a *Shiboleth* upon our Tongue;
By which with easie search you may distinguish
Your *Roman-Saxon-Danish-Norman* English.

The great Invading¹ *Norman* let us know
What Conquerors in After-Times might do.
To ev'ry ²*Musqueteer* he brought to Town,
He gave the Lands which never were his own.

¹ *Wm. the Conq.*

² *Or Archer.*

38 THE TRUE-BORN ENGLISHMAN

When first the *English* Crown he did obtain,
 He did not send his *Dutchmen* home again.
 No Re-assumptions in his Reign were known,
Davenant might there ha' let his Book alone.
 No Parliament his Army cou'd disband;
He rais'd no Money, for he paid in Land.
 He gave his Legions their Eternal Station,
 And made them all Free-holders of the Nation.
 He Canton'd out the Country to his Men,
 And ev'ry Soldier was a Denizen.
 The Rascals thus Enrich'd, he call'd them *Lords*,
 To please their Upstart Pride with new-made Words;
 And *Doomsday-Book* his Tyranny records. }

And here begins the Ancient Pedigree
 That so exalts our poor Nobility:
 'Tis that from some *French* Trooper they derive,
 Who with the *Norman* Bastard did arrive:
 The Trophies of the Families appear;
 Some show the Sword, the Bow, and some the Spear, }
 Which their Great Ancestor, *forsooth*, did wear.
 These in the Herald's Register remain,
 Their Noble mean Extraction to explain.
 Yet who the Heroe was, no Man can tell,
Whether a Drummer, or a Colonel:
 The silent Record Blushes to reveal
 Their Undescended Dark Original.

But grant the best, How came the Change to pass;
 A *True-Born Englishman* of *Norman* Race?
 A *Turkish* Horse can show more History,
 To prove his Well-descended Family.

Conquest, as by the¹ Moderns 'tis exprest,
 May give a Title to the Lands possest:
 But that the Longest Sword shou'd be so Civil,
 To make a *Frenchman English*, that's the Devil.

These are the Heroes that despise the *Dutch*,
 And rail at new-come Foreigners so much;
 Forgetting that themselves are all deriv'd
 From the most Scoundrel Race that ever liv'd,
 A horrid Crowd of Rambling Thieves and Drones,
 Who ransack'd Kingdoms, and dispeopled Towns.
 The *Pict* and Painted *Britain*, Treach'rous *Scot*,
 By Hunger, Theft, and Rapine, hither brought.
Norwegian Pirates, Buccaneering *Danes*,
 Whose Red-hair'd Off-spring ev'ry where remains.
 Who join'd with *Norman-French* compound the Breed,
 From whence your *True Born Englishmen* proceed.

And lest by Length of Time it be pretended,
 The Climate may this Modern Breed ha' mended;
 Wise Providence to keep us where we are,
 Mixes us daily with exceeding Care:
 We have been *Europe's* Sink, *the Jakes* where she
 Voids all her Offal Out-cast Progeny.
 From our Fifth *Henry's* time, the Strolling Bands
 Of banish'd Fugitives from Neighb'ring Lands,
 Have here a certain Sanctuary found:
The Eternal Refuge of the Vagabond.
 Where in but half a common Age of Time,
 Borr'wing new Blood and Manners from the Clime,
 Proudly they learn all Mankind to contemn,
 And all their Race are *True-Born Englishmen*.

¹Dr. Sherl. *de Fac'o*.

40 THE TRUE-BORN ENGLISHMAN

*Dutch, Walloons, Flemmings, Irishmen, and Scots,
Vaudois and Valtolins, and Hugonots,
In good Queen Bess's Charitable Reign,
Supply'd us with three hundred thousand Men.
Religion, God we thank thee, sent them hither,
Priests, Protestants, the Devil and all together:
Of all Professions, and of ev'ry Trade,
All that were persecuted or afraid;
Whether for Debt, or other Crimes they fled,
David at Hackelab was still their Head.*

The Off-spring of this Miscellaneous Crowd,
Had not their new Plantations long enjoy'd,
But they grew *Englishmen*, and rais'd their Votes
At Foreign Shoals of *Interloping Scots*.
The ¹ Royal Branch from *Pict-land* did succeed,
With Troops of *Scots*, and Scabs from *North-by-Tweed*.
The Seven first Years of his Pacifick Reign
Made him and half his Nation *Englishmen*.
Scots from the *Northern* Frozen Banks of *Tay*,
With Packs and Plods came *Whigging* all away:
Thick as the Locusts which in *Ægypt* swarm'd,
With Pride and hungry Hopes compleatly arm'd:
With Native *Truth, Diseases*, and no *Money*,
Plunder'd our *Canaan* of the Milk and Honey.
Here they grew quickly Lords and Gentlemen,
And all their Race are *True-Born* Englishmen.

The Civil Wars, the common Purgative,
Which always use to make the Nation thrive,
Made way for all the strolling Congregation,
Which throng'd in Pious *Ch[arle]s's*² Restoration.
The *Royal Refugee* our Breed restores,

¹ K. J. I.

² K. C. II

With *Foreign Courtiers*, and with *Foreign Whores*:
 And carefully repeopled us again,
 Throughout his Lazy, Long, Lascivious Reign;
 With such a blest and True-born *English Fry*,
 As much Illustrates our Nobility.
 A Gratitude which will so black appear,
 As future Ages must abhor to hear:
 When they look back on all that Crimson Flood,
 Which stream'd in *Lindsey's*, and *Caernarvon's* Blood:
 Bold *Strafford*, *Cambridge*, *Capel*, *Lucas*, *Lisle*,
 Who crown'd in Death his Father's Fun'ral Pile.
 The loss of whom, in order to supply,
 With *True-Born-English* bred Nobility,
 Six Bastard Dukes survive his Luscious Reign,
 The Labours of *Italian Castlemain*,
French Portsmouth, *Taby Scot*, and *Cambrian*.
 Besides the Num'rous Bright and Virgin Throng,
 Whose Female Glories shade them from my Song.

This Off-spring, if one Age they multiply,
 May half the House with *English* Peers supply:
 There with true *English* Pride they may contemn
Schomberg and *Portland*, new made Noblemen.

French Cooks, *Scotch* Pedlars, and *Italian* Whores,
 Were all made Lords, or Lords Progenitors.
 Beggars and Bastards by his new Creation,
 Much multiply'd the Peerage of the Nation;
 Who will be all, e'er one short Age runs o'er,
 As *True-born* Lords as those we had before.

Then to recruit the Commons he prepares,
 And heal the latent Breaches of the Wars;
 The Pious Purpose better to advance,

H'invites the banish'd Protestants of *France*:
 Hither for Gods-sake and their own they fled,
 Some for Religion came, and some for Bread:
 Two hundred thousand Pair of Wooden Shooes,
 Who, God be thank'd, had nothing left to lose;
 To Heav'n's great Praise did for Religion fly,
 To make us starve our Poor in Charity.
 In ev'ry Port they plant their fruitful Train,
 To get a Race of *True-Born* Englishmen:
 Whose Children will, when Riper Years they see,
 Be as Ill-natur'd and as Proud as we:
 Call themselves *English*, Foreigners despise,
 Be Surly like us all, and just as Wise.

Thus from a Mixture of all Kinds began,
 That Het'rogeneous *Thing*, *An Englishman*:
 In eager Rapes, and furious Lust begot,
 Betwixt a Painted *Britain* and a *Scot*.
 Whose gend'ring Off-spring quickly learn'd to bow,
 And yoke their Heifers to the *Roman* Plough:
 From whence a Mongrel half-Bred Race there came,
 With neither Name nor Nation, Speech nor Fame.
 In whose hot Veins new Mixtures quickly ran,
 Infus'd betwixt a *Saxon* and a *Dane*.
 While their Rank Daughters, to their Parents just,
 Receiv'd all Nations with Promiscuous Lust.
 This Nauseous Brood directly did contain
 The well-extracted Blood of *Englishmen*.

Which Medly canton'd in a Heptarchy,
 A Rhapsody of Nations to supply,
 Among themselves maintain'd eternal Wars,
 And still the Ladies lov'd the Conquerors.

The *Western* Angles all the rest subdu'd;
 A bloody Nation, barbarous and rude:
 Who by the *Tenure* of the Sword possest
 One part of *Britain*, and subdu'd the rest.
 And as great things denominate the small,
 The Conqu'ring part gave *Title* to the whole.
 The *Scot*, *Pict*, *Britain*, *Roman*, *Dane* submit,
 And with the *English-Saxon* all unite:
 And these the Mixture have so close pursu'd,
 The very Name and Memory's subdu'd:
 No *Roman* now, no *Britain* does remain;
Wales strove to separate, but strove in vain:
 The silent Nations undistinguish'd fall,
 And *Englishman*'s the common Name for all.
 Fate jumbled them together, *God knows how*;
 Whate'er they were, they're *True-Born English* now.

The Wonder which remains is at our Pride,
 To value that which all wise Men deride.
 For *Englishmen* to boast of Generation,
 Cancels their Knowledge, and Lampoons the Nation.
 A *True-Born Englishman*'s a Contradiction,
 In Speech an Irony, in Fact a Fiction.
 A Banter made to be a Test of Fools,
 Which those that use it justly ridicules.
 A Metaphor invented to express
 A Man *a-kin* to all the Universe.

For as the *Scots*, as Learned Men ha' said,
 Throughout the World their Wand'ring Seed ha' spread;
 So open-handed *England*, 'tis believ'd,
 Has all the Gleanings of the World receiv'd.

44 THE TRUE-BORN ENGLISHMAN

Some think of *England* 'twas our Saviour meant,
The Gospel should to all the World be sent:
Since, when the Blessed Sound did hither reach,
They to all Nations might be said to Preach.

'Tis well that Virtue gives Nobility,
How shall we else the want of Birth and Blood supply?
Since scarce one Family is left alive,
Which does not from some Foreigner derive.
Of sixty thousand *English* Gentlemen,
Whose Names and Arms in Registers remain,
We challenge all our Heralds to declare
Ten Families which *English-Saxons* are.

France justly boasts the Ancient Noble Line
Of *Bourbon*, *Mommorency*, and *Lorrain*.
The *Germans* too their House of *Austria* show,
And *Holland* their Invincible *Nassau*.
Lines which in Heraldry were ancient grown,
Before the Name of *Englishman* was known.
Even *Scotland* too, her Elder Glory shows,
Her *Gourdons*, *Hamiltons*, and her *Monroes*;
Douglas, *Mackays*, and *Grahams*, Names well known,
Long before Ancient *England* knew her own.

But *England*, Modern to the last degree,
Borrows or makes her own Nobility,
And yet she boldly boasts of Pedigree:
Repines that Foreigners are put upon her,
And talks of her Antiquity and Honour:
Her *S[ackvi]lls*, *S[avi]ls*, *C[eci]ls*, *De-la-M[ere]s*,
M[ohu]ns and *M[ontag]ues*, *D[ura]s* and *V[ere]s*,
Not one have *English* Names, yet all are *English* Peers.

Your *Houblons*, *Papillons*, and *Lethuliers*,
 Pass now for *True-born-English* Knights and Squires, }
 And make good Senate Members, or Lord-Mayors. }
 Wealth, howsoever got, in *England* makes
 Lords of Mechanicks, Gentlemen of Rakes:
 Antiquity and Birth are needless here;
 'Tis Impudence and Money makes a P[ee]r.

Innumerable City-Knights we know,
 From *Blewcoat-Hospitals* and *Bridewell* flow.
 Draymen and Porters fill the City Chair,
 And Foot-Boys Magisterial Purple wear.
 Fate has but very small Distinction set
 Betwixt the *Counter* and the *Coronet*.
 Tarpaulin Lords, Pages of high Renown,
 Rise up by Poor Mens Valour, not their own.
 Great Families of yesterday we show,
 And Lords, whose Parents were *the Lord knows who*.

PART II

THE Breed's describ'd: Now, *Satyr*, if you can,
 Their Temper show, for *Manners make the Man*.
 Fierce as the *Britain*; as the *Roman* Brave;
 And less inclin'd to Conquer than to Save:
 Eager to Fight, and lavish of their Blood;
 And equally of *Fear* and *Forecast* void.
 The *Pict* has made 'em Sowre, the *Dane* Morose,
 False from the *Scot*, and from the *Norman* worse.
 What Honesty they have, the *Saxons* gave them.
 And That, now they grow old, begins to leave them.
 The Climate makes them Terrible and Bold;

46 THE TRUE-BORN ENGLISHMAN

The *English* Beef their Courage does uphold:
 No Danger can their Daring Spirit pall,
Always provided that their Belly's full.

In close Intrigues their Faculty's but weak,
 For gen'rally whate'er they know, they speak:
 And often their own Councils undermine,
 By their Infirmary, and not Design;
 From whence the Learned say it does proceed,
 That *English* Treasons never can succeed,
 For they're so open-hearted, you may know
 Their own most secret Thoughts, and others too.

The Lab'ring Poor, in spite of Double Pay,
Are Sawcy, Mutinous, and Beggarly:
 So lavish of their Money and their Time,
 That want of Forecast is the Nation's Crime.
 Good Drunken Company is their Delight;
 And what they get by Day, they spend by Night.
 Dull Thinking seldom does their Heads engage,
But Drink their Youth away, and Hurry on Old Age.
 Empty of all good Husbandry and Sense;
 And void of Manners most, when void of Pence.
 Their strong aversion to Behaviour's such,
 They always talk too little, or too much.
 So dull, they never take the pains to think:
 And seldom are good natur'd, *but in Drink.*

In *English* Ale their dear Enjoyment lies,
 For which they'll starve themselves and Families.
 An *Englishman* will fairly Drink as much
 As will maintain two Families of *Dutch*:
 Subjecting all their Labour to the Pots;
The greatest Artists are the greatest Sots.

The Country poor do by Example live,
The Gentry lead them, and the Clergy drive;
What may we not from such Examples hope?
The Landlord is their God, the Priest their Pope.
A Drunken Clergy, and a Swearing Bench,
Has giv'n the Reformation such a Drench,
As wise Men think there is some cause to doubt,
Will purge Good Manners and Religion out.

Nor do the Poor alone their Liquor prize,
The *Sages* joyn in this great Sacrifice.
The Learned Men who study *Aristotle*,
Correct him with an Explanation-Bottle;
Praise *Epicurus* rather than *Lysander*,
And¹ *Aristippus* more than *Alexander*.
The Doctors too their *Galen* here resign,
And gen'rally prescribe *Specifick Wine*.
The Graduates Study's grown an easier *Task*,
While for the *Urinal* they toss the *Flask*.
The Surgeon's Art grows plainer ev'ry Hour,
And Wine's the Balm which into Wounds they pour.

Poets long since *Parnassus* have forsaken,
And say the ancient Bards were all mistaken.
Apollo's lately abdicate and fled,
And good King *Bacchus* governs in his stead;
He does the Chaos of the Head refine,
And Atom-Thoughts jump into Words by Wine:
The Inspiration's of a finer Nature;
As Wine must needs excel *Parnassus* Water.

¹*The Drunkards Name for Canary.*

48 THE TRUE-BORN ENGLISHMAN

Statesmen their weighty Politicks refine,
And Soldiers raise their Courages by Wine;
Cæcilia gives her Choristers their Choice,
And let's them all drink Wine to clear their Voice.

Some think the Clergy first found out the way,
And Wine's the only Spirit by which they Pray.
But others, less prophane than so, agree,
It clears the Lungs, and helps the Memory:
And therefore all of them Divinely think,
Instead of Study, 'tis as well to Drink.

And here I would be very glad to know,
Whether our *Asgilites* may drink or no.
Th'Enlightened Fumes of Wine would certainly,
Assist them much *when they begin to fly*:
Or if a Fiery Chariot shou'd appear,
Inflam'd by Wine, they'd ha' the less to fear.

Even the Gods themselves, as Mortals say,
Were they on Earth, wou'd be as drunk as they:
Nectar would be no more Celestial Drink,
They'd all take *Wine*, to teach them how to Think.
But *English* Drunkards, Gods and men out-do,
Drink their Estates away, and Senses too.
Colon's in Debt, and if his Friends should fail
To help him out, must Die at last in Gaol;
His *Wealthy Uncle* sent a Hundred Nobles,
To pay his Trifles off, and rid him of his Troubles:
But *Colon*, like a *True-Born Englishman*,
Drank all the Money out in bright Champaign;
And *Colon* does in Custody remain. }
Drunk'ness has been the Darling of the Realm,
E'er since a Drunken Pilot had the Helm.

In their Religion they are so unev'n,
 That each Man goes *his own By-way to Heaven*.
 Tenacious of Mistakes to that degree.
 That ev'ry Man pursues it sep'rately,
 And fancies none can find the Way but he:
 So shy of one another they are grown,
 As if they strove to get to Heav'n alone.
 Rigid and Zealous, Positive and Grave,
And ev'ry Grace, but Charity, they have:
 This makes them so Ill-natur'd and Uncivil,
 That all Men think an *Englishman* the Devil.

Surly to Strangers, Froward to their Friend;
 Submit to Love with a reluctant Mind;
 Resolv'd to be ungrateful and unkind.
 If by Necessity reduc'd to ask,
 The Giver has the difficultest Task:
 For what's bestow'd they awkwardly receive,
 And always Take less freely than they Give.
 The Obligation is their highest Grief;
And never love, where they accept Relief.
 So sullen in their Sorrows, that 'tis known,
 They'll rather die than their Afflictions own:
 And if reliev'd, it is too often true,
That they'll abuse their Benefactors too:
 For in Distress their Haughty Stomach's such,
 They hate to see themselves oblig'd too much.
Seldom contented, often in the wrong;
Hard to be pleas'd at all, and never long.

If your Mistakes their Ill-Opinion gain,
 No Merit can their Favour re-obtain:
 And if they're not Vindictive in their Fury,

50 THE TRUE-BORN ENGLISHMAN

'Tis their Unconstant Temper does secure ye;
 Their Brain's so cool, their Passion seldom burns:
 For all's condens'd before the Flame returns:
 The Fermentation's of so weak a Matter,
 The Humid damps the Fume, and runs it all to Water.
 So tho' the Inclination may be strong,
 They're pleas'd by Fits, and never angry long.

Then if Good Nature shows some slender Proof,
 They never think they have Reward enough;
 But like our *Modern Quakers* of the Town,
Expect your Manners, and return you none.

Friendship, th' abstracted Union of the Mind,
 Which all Men seek, but very few can find:
 Of all the Nations in the Universe,
 None talk on't more, or understand it less:
 For if it does their Property annoy,
 Their Property their Friendship will destroy.

As you discourse them, you shall hear them tell
 All things in which they think they do excel:
 No Panegyrick needs their Praise record;
An Englishman ne'er wants his own good word.
 His long Discourses gen'rally appear
 Prologu'd with his own wond'rous Character:
 But first t' illustrate his own good Name,
 He never fails his Neighbour to defame:
 And yet he really designs no wrong;
 His Malice goes no further than his Tongue.
 But Pleas'd to Tattle, he delights to Rail,
To satisfie the Lech'ry of a Tale.
 His own dear Praises close the ample Speech,

Tells you how Wise he is; *that is, how Rich:*
For Wealth is Wisdom; he that's Rich is Wise;
And all Men Learned Poverty Despise.

His Generosity comes next, and then
 Concludes that he's a *True-Born Englishman*;
 And they, 'tis known, are Generous and Free,
 Forgetting, and Forgiving Injury:
 Which may be true, thus rightly understood,
Forgiving Ill Turns, and Forgetting Good.

☛ Chearful in Labour when they've undertook it;
 But out of Humour, when they're out of Pocket.
 But if their Belly, and their Pocket's full,
 They may be Phlegmatick, but never Dull:
And if a Bottle does their Brains refine,
It makes their Wit as sparkling as their Wine.

As for the general Vices which we find
 They're guilty of in common with Mankind,
Satyr, forbear, and silently endure;
 We must conceal the Crimes we cannot cure.

Nor shall my Verse the brighter Sex defame;
 For *English* Beauty will preserve her Name
 Beyond dispute, Agreeable and Fair,
 And Modester than other Nations are:
 For where the Vice prevails, the great Temptation
 Is want of Money, more than Inclination.
In general, this only is allow'd,
They're something Noisy, and a little Proud.

An *Englishman* is gentlest in Command,
 Obedience is a Stranger in the Land:
 Hardly subjected to the Magistrate,

52 THE TRUE-BORN ENGLISHMAN

*For Englishmen do all Subjection hate.
Humblest when Rich, but peevish when they're Poor:
And think whate'er they have, they Merit more.*

*[Shamwhig pretends t' ha' serv'd the Government,
But baulk't of due Reward, turns Malecontent.
For English Christians always have regard
To future Recompences of Reward.
His forfeit Liberty they did restore,
And gave him Bread, which he had not before.
But True-Born English Sham-Whig lets them know,
His Merit must not lye neglected so.
As Proud as Poor, his Masters he'll defy;
And writes a Piteous¹ Satyr upon Honesty.
Some think the Poem had been pretty good,
If he the Subject had but understood.
He got Five hundred Pence by this, and more,
As sure as he had ne're a Groat before.*

*In Bus'ness next some Friends of his employ'd him;
And there he prov'd that Fame had not bely'd him:
His Benefactors quickly he abus'd,
And falsly to the Government accus'd:
But they, defended by their Innocence,
Ruin'd the Traytor in their own Defence.*

*Thus kick'd about from Pillars unto Posts,
He whets his Pen against the Lord of Hosts:
Burlesques his God and King in Paltry Rhimes:
Against the Dutch turns Champion for the Times;
And Huffs the King, upon that very score,
On which he Panegyrick't him before.*

¹ *Satyr in Praise of Folly and Knaves.*

Unhappy *England*, hast thou none but such,
To plead thy Scoundrel Cause against the Dutch?
 This moves their Scorn, and not their Indignation:
He that Lampoons the Dutch, Burlesques the Nation.]

The meanest *English* Plow-man studies Law,
 And keeps thereby the Magistrates in Awe;
 Will boldly tell them what they ought to do,
 And sometimes punish their Omissions too.

Their Liberty and Property's so dear,
 They Scorn their Laws or Governours to fear:
 So bugbear'd with the Name of Slavery,
 They can't submit to their own Liberty.
ReStraint from Ill is Freedom to the Wise;
But Englishmen do all ReStraint despise.
 Slaves to the Liquor, Drudges to the Pots,
The Mob are Statesmen, and their Statesmen Sots.

Their Governours they count such dangerous things,
 That 'tis their Custom to affront their Kings:
 So jealous of the Power their Kings possess'd,
 They suffer'd neither Power nor Kings to rest.
 The Bad with Force they eagerly subdue;
 The Good with constant Clamours they pursue:
And did King Jesus reign, they'd murmur too. }
 A discontented Nation, and by far
Harder to rule in Times of Peace than War:
 Easily set together by the Ears,
 And full of causeless Jealousies and Fears:
 Apt to revolt, and willing to Rebel,
And never are contented when they're well.
 No Government cou'd ever please them long,

54 THE TRUE-BORN ENGLISHMAN

Cou'd tie their Hands, or rectifie their Tongue.
In this, to Ancient Israel well compar'd,
Eternal Murmurs are among them heard.

It was but lately that they were oppress'd,
 Their Rights invaded, and their Laws suppress'd:
 When nicely tender of their Liberty,
Lord! What a Noise they made of Slavery.
 In daily Tumults show'd their Discontent;
 Lampoon'd their King, and mock'd his Government.
 And if in Arms they did not first appear,
 'Twas want of Force, and not for want of Fear.
 In humbler Tone than *English* us'd to do,
 At foreign Hands, for Foreign Aid they sue.

William, *the great Successor of Nassau*,
 Their Prayers heard, and their Oppressions saw:
 He saw and sav'd them: God and Him they prais'd;
 To this their Thanks, to that their Trophies rais'd.
 But glutted with their own Felicities,
 They soon their New Deliverer despise;
 Say all their Prayers back, their Joy disown,
 Unsing their Thanks, and pull their Trophies down:
 Their Harps of Praise are on the Willows hung;
For Englishmen are ne'er contented long.

The Rev'rend Clergy too! and who'd ha' thought }
 That they who had such Non-Resistance taught, }
 Should e'er to Arms against their Prince be brought? }
 Who up to Heaven did Regal Pow'r advance;
 Subjecting *English* Laws to Modes of *France*.
 Twisting Religion so with Loyalty,
 As one cou'd never Live, and t'other Die.

And yet no sooner did their Prince design
 Their Glebes and Perquisites to undermine,
 But all their Passive Doctrines laid aside;
 The Clergy, their own Principles deny'd:
 Unpreach'd their Non-resisting Cant, and Pray'd
 To Heaven for Help, and to the *Dutch* for Aid.
 The Church chim'd all their Doctrines back again,
And Pulpit Champions did the Cause maintain;
 Flew in the Face of all their former Zeal,
 And Non-Resistance did at once repeal.

The *Rabbies* say it would be too prolix,
 To tie Religion up to Politicks
The Churches Safety is Suprema Lex.
 And so by a new Figure of their own,
 Their former Doctrines all at once disown.
 As Laws *Post Facto* in the Parliament,
 In urgent Cases have obtain'd Assent;
 But are as dangerous Presidents laid by;
 Made Lawful only by Necessity.

The Rev'rend Fathers then in Arms appear,
And Men of God became the Men of War.
 The Nation, fir'd by them, to Arms apply,
 Assault their Antichristian Monarchy;
 To their due Channel all our Laws restore,
 And made things what they shou'd ha' been before.
 But when they came to fill the Vacant Throne,
 And the *Pale Priests* look'd back on what they'd done;
 How *English* Liberty began to thrive,
 And Church of *England* Loyalty out-Live:
 How all their persecuting Days were done,
 And their Deliv'rer plac'd upon the Throne:

56 THE TRUE-BORN ENGLISHMAN

The Priests, *as Priests are wont to do*, turn'd Tail.
 They're *Englishmen*, and *Nature will prevail*.
 Now they deplore the Ruins they ha' made,
 And murmur for the Master they betray'd.
 Excuse those Crimes they cou'd not make him mend;
 And suffer for the Cause they can't defend.
 Pretend they'd not have carried things so high;
 And Proto-Martyrs make for Popery.
 Had the Prince done as they design'd the thing,
Ha' set the Clergy up to Rule the King;
 Taken a *Donative* for coming hither,
 And so ha' left their King and them together,
 We had, say they, been now a happy Nation.
No doubt we'd seen a Blessed Reformation:
 For Wise Men say 't's as dangerous a thing,
A Ruling Priest-hood, as a Priest-rid King.
 And of all Plagues with which Mankind are Curs'd,
Ecclesiastick Tyranny's the worst.

If all our former Grievances were feign'd,
 King *James* has been abus'd, and we trepan'd;
 Bugbear'd with Popery and Power Despotick,
 Tyrannick Government, and Leagues Exotick:
 The Revolution's a Phanatick Plot,
W[illiam] a Tyrant, and *K[ing] J[ames]* was not:
 A Factious Army, and a Poyson'd Nation,
 Unjustly forc'd King' *James's* Abdication.

But if he did the Subjects Rights invade,
 Then he was punish'd only, not betray'd;
And punishing of King's is no such Crime,
But Englishmen ha' done it many a Time.

When Kings the Sword of Justice first lay down,
 They are no Kings, though they possess the Crown.
 Titles are Shadows, Crowns are empty things,
 The Good of Subjects is the End of Kings;
 To guide in War, and to protect in Peace:
 Where Tyrants once commence the Kings do cease:
 For Arbitrary Power's so strange a thing,
 It makes the *Tyrant*, and unmakes the King.

If Kings by Foreign Priests and Armies Reign,
 And lawless Power against their Oaths maintain,
 Then Subjects must ha' reason to complain. }

*If Oaths must bind us when our Kings do ill;
 To call in Foreign Aid is to rebel.*

By force to circumscribe our Lawful Prince,
 Is wilful Treason in the largest Sense:
 And they who once rebel, most certainly
 Their God, and King, and former Oaths defy.
 If we allow no Male-Administration
 Could cancel the Allegiance of the Nation:
 Let all our Learned *Sons of Levi* try,
This Eccles' a stick Riddle to unty:
 How they could make a Step to Call the Prince,
 And yet pretend to Oaths and Innocence.

By th' first Address they made beyond the Seas,
 They're Perjur'd in the most intense Degrees;
 And without Scruple for the time to come,
 May swear to all the Kings in *Christendom*.
 And truly, did our Kings consider all,
 They'd never let the Clergy swear at all:
 Their Politick Allegiance they'd refuse;
For Whores and Priests will never want Excuse.

But if the *Mutual Contract* was dissolv'd,
 The Doubts explain'd, the Difficulty solv'd:
That Kings when they descend to Tyranny,
Dissolve the Bond, and leave the Subject free.
 The Government's ungirt, when Justice dies,
 And Constitutions are Non-Entities,
 The Nation's all a Mob, there's no such thing
 As Lords or Commons, Parliament or King.
 A great promiscuous Croud the Hydra lies,
 Till Laws revive, and mutual Contract ties:
 A Chaos free to chuse for their own share,
 What Case of Government they please to wear:
 If to a King they do the Reins commit,
 All Men are bound in Conscience to submit:
 But then that King must by his Oath assent
 To *Postulata's* of the Government;
 Which if he breaks, he cuts off the Entail,
 And Power retreats to its Original.

This Doctrine has the Sanction of Assent,
 From Nature's Universal Parliament.
 The Voice of Nations, and the Course of Things,
 Allow that Laws superior are to Kings.
 None but Delinquents would have Justice cease,
Knives rail at Laws, as Soldiers rail at Peace:
 For Justice is the End of Government,
 As Reason is the Test of Argument.

No Man was ever yet so void of Sense,
 As to debate the Right of Self-Defence,
 A Principle so grafted in the Mind,
 With Nature born, and does like Nature bind:
 Twisted with Reason, and with Nature too;
 As neither one nor t'other can undo.

Nor can this Right be less when National;
 Reason which governs one, should govern all.
 Whate'er the Dialect of Courts may tell,
He that his Right demands, can ne'er rebel.
 Which Right, if 'tis by Governours deny'd,
 May be procur'd by Force, or Foreign Aid.
 For *Tyranny's* a Nation's Term of Grief;
 As Folks cry *Fire*, to hasten in Relief.
 And when the hated Word is heard about,
 All Men shou'd come to help the People out.

Thus *England* cry'd, *Britannia's* Voice was heard,
 And great *Nassau* to rescue her, appear'd:
 Call'd by the Universal Voice of Fate;
 God and the Peoples Legal Magistrate.
 Ye Heav'ns regard! Almighty *Jove* look down,
 And view thy injur'd Monarch on the Throne.
 On their Ungrateful Heads due Vengeance take,
 Who sought his Aid, and then his part forsake.
 Witness, ye Powers! It was our Call alone,
 Which now our Pride makes us asham'd to own.
Britannia's Troubles fetch'd him from afar,
 To court the dreadful Casualties of War:
But where Requital never can be made,
Acknowledgment's a Tribute seldom pay'd.

He dwelt in Bright *Maria's* Circling Arms,
 Defended by the Magick of her Charms,
 From Foreign Fears, and from Domestick Harms. }
 Ambition found no Fuel for her Fire,
 He had what God cou'd give, or Man desire.
 Till *Pity* rowz'd him from his soft Repose:

60 THE TRUE-BORN ENGLISHMAN

His Life to unseen Hazards to expose;
 Till *Pity* mov'd him in our Cause t'appear;
Pity! That Word which now we hate to hear.
 But *English* Gratitude is always such,
 To hate the Hand which does oblige too much.

Britannia's Cries gave Birth to his Intent,
 And hardly gain'd his unforeseen Assent:
 His boding Thoughts foretold him he should find
 The People Fickle, Selfish, and Unkind:
 Which Thought did to his Royal Heart appear
 More dreadful than the Dangers of the War:
 For nothing grates a generous Mind so soon,
 As base Returns for hearty Service done.

Satyr be silent, awfully prepare
Britannia's Song, and *William's* Praise to hear.
 Stand by, and let her chearfully rehearse
 Her grateful Vows in her Immortal Verse.
 Loud Fame's Eternal Trumpet let her sound:
 Listen ye distant Poles, and endless Round.
 May the strong Blast the welcome News convey
 As far as Sound can reach, or Spirit fly.
 To *Neighb'ring Worlds*, if such there be, relate
 Our Hero's Fame, for theirs to imitate.
 To distant Worlds of Spirits let her rehearse:
For Spirits without the helps of Voice Converse.
 May Angels hear the gladsome News on high,
Mix'd with their everlasting Symphony.
 And Hell it self stand in Suspence to know,
 Whether it be the Fatal Blast, or no.

BRITANNIA

*The Fame of Vertue 'tis for which I sound,
 And Heroes with Immortal Triumphs Crown'd.
 Fame built on solid Vertue swifter flies,
 Than Morning-Light can spread my Eastern Skies.
 The gath'ring Air returns the doubling Sound,
 And lowd repeating Thunders force it round:
 Ecchoes return from Caverns of the Deep:
 Old Chaos Dreams on't in Eternal Sleep.
 Time hands it forward to its latest Urn,
 From whence it never, never shall return;
 Nothing is heard so far, or lasts so long;
 'Tis heard by ev'ry Ear, and spoke of ev'ry Tongue.*

*My Hero, with the Sails of Honour Furl'd,
 Rises like the Great Genius of the World.
 By Fate and Fame wisely prepar'd to be
 The Soul of War, and Life of Victory.
 He spreads the Wings of Vertue on the Throne,
 And ev'ry Wind of Glory fans them on.
 Immortal Trophies dwell upon his Brow,
 Fresh as the Garlands he has won but now.*

*By different Steps the high Ascent he gains,
 And differently that high Ascent maintains.
 Princes for Pride, and Lust of Rule, make War;
 And struggle for the Name of Conqueror.
 Some Fight for Fame, and some for Victory;
 He Fights to Save, and Conquers to set Free.*

*Then seek no Phrase his Titles to conceal,
 And hide with Words what Actions must reveal.*

*No Parallel from Hebrew Stories take,
 Of God-like Kings my Similies to make:
 No borrow'd Names conceal my living Theam;
 But Names and Things directly I proclaim.
 His honest Merit does his Glory raise;
 Whom that exalts, let no Man fear to praise:
 Of such a Subject no Man need be shy;
 Vertue's above the Reach of Flattery.
 He needs no Character, but his own Fame,
 Nor any flattering Titles, but his Name.
 William's the Name that's spoke by ev'ry Tongue;
 William's the Darling Subject of my Song.
 Listen ye Virgins to the Charming Sound,
 And in Eternal Dances band it round:
 Your early Offerings to this Altar bring;
 Make him at once a Lover and a King.
 May he submit to none but to your Arms;
 Nor ever be subdu'd, but by your Charms.
 May your soft Thoughts for him be all Sublime;
 And ev'ry tender Vow be made for him.
 May he be first in ev'ry Morning-Thought,
 And Heav'n ne'er hear a Pray'r, where he's left out.
 May ev'ry Omen, ev'ry boding Dream,
 Be Fortunate by mentioning his Name;
 May this one Charm Infernal Powers affright,
 And guard you from the Terrors of the Night.
 May ev'ry chearful Glass, as it goes down,
 To William's Health, be Cordials to your own.
 Let ev'ry Song be Chorust with his Name,
 And Musick pay her Tribute to his Fame.
 Let ev'ry Poet tune his Artful Verse,
 And in Immortal Strains his Deeds rehearse.
 And may Apollo never more inspire*

*The Disobedient Bard with his Seraphick Fire.
May all my Sons their grateful Homage pay;
His Praises sing, and for his Safety pray.*

*Satyr return to our Unthankful Isle,
Secur'd by Heavens Regard, and William's Toil.
To both Ungrateful, and to both Untrue;
Rebels to God, and to Good Nature too.*

*If e'er this Nation be Distress'd again,
To whosoe'er they cry, they'll cry in vain.
To Heav'n they cannot have the Face to look:
Or if they should, it would but Heaven provoke.
To hope for Help from Man would be too much;
Mankind would always tell 'em of the Dutch:
How they came here our Freedoms to maintain,
Were Paid, and Curs'd, and Hurry'd home again.
How by their Aid we first dissolv'd our Fears,
And then our Helpers damn'd for Foreigners.
'Tis not our English Temper to do better;
For Englishmen think ev'ry Man their Debtor.*

*'Tis worth observing, that we ne'er complain'd
Of Foreigners, nor of the Wealth they gain'd,
Till all their Services were at an end. }
Wise Men affirm it is the English way,
Never to Grumble till they come to Pay;
And then they always think, their Temper's such,
The work too little, and the Pay too much.*

*As frightened Patients, when they want a Cure,
Bid any Price, and any Pain endure;
But when the Doctor's Remedies appear,
The Cure's too Easie, and the Price too Dear.*

Great *Portland* ne'er was banter'd when he strove
 For Us his Master's kindest Thoughts to move.
 We ne'er Lampoon'd his Conduct, when employ'd
 King *James's* Secret Councils to divide:
 Then we caress'd him as the only Man,
 Which could the doubtful Oracle explain:
 The only *Hushai* able to repel,
 The dark Designs of our *Achitophel*.
 Compar'd his Master's Courage, to his Sense;
The Ablest Statesman, and the Bravest Prince.
 [On his Wise Conduct we depended much,
And lik'd him ne're the worse for being Dutch.
 Nor was he valued more than he deserv'd;
 Freely he ventur'd, faithfully he serv'd.
 In all King *William's* Dangers he has shar'd;
 In *England's* Quarrels always he appear'd:
 The *Revolution* first, and then the *Boyne*;
 In Both his Counsels and his Conduct shine.
 His martial valour *Flanders* will confess;
 And *France* Regrets his Managing the Peace.
 Faithful to *England's* Interest and her King:
The greatest Reason of our murmuring.]
 Ten Years in *English* Service he appear'd,
 And gain'd his Master's, and the World's Regard:
But 'tis not England's Custom to Reward.
 The Wars are over, *England* needs him not;
 Now he's a *Dutchman* and the Lord knows what.

Schonberg, the Ablest Soldier of his Age,
 With *Great Nassau* did in our Cause engage:
 Both joyn'd for *England's* Rescue and Defence,
The greatest Captain, and the greatest Prince.
 With what Applause his Stories did we tell?

Stories which *Europe's* Volumes largely swell.
 We counted him an Army in our Aid:
Where he commanded, no Man was afraid.
 His Actions with a constant Conquest shine,
 From *Villa-Vitiosa* to the *Rhine*.
France, Flanders, Germany, his Fame confess;
 And all the World was fond of him, but Us.
 Our Turn first serv'd, we grudg'd him the Command.
Witness the Grateful Temper of the Land!

We blame the K[ing] that he relies too much
 On Strangers, *Germans, Hugonots, and Dutch*,
 And seldom would his great Affairs of State,
 To *English* Counsellors communicate.
 The Fact might very well be answer'd thus;
 He has so often been betray'd by us,
 He must have been a Madman to rely
 On *English* Gentlemen's Fidelity.
 For laying other Arguments aside,
 This Thought might mortifie our *English* Pride,
 That Foreigners have faithfully obey'd him,
 And none but *English* have e'er betray'd him.
 They have our Ships and Merchants bought and sold,
 And barter'd *English* Blood for Foreign Gold.
 First to the *French* they sold our *Turkey* Fleet,
 And Injur'd *Talmarsh* next, at *Camaret*.
 The King himself is shelter'd from their Snares,
 Not by his Merit, but the Crown he wears.
 Experience tells us 'tis the *English* way,
 Their Benefactors always to betray.

And lest Examples should be too remote,
 A Modern Magistrate of Famous Note,
 Shall give you his own History by Rote.
 f

}

66 THE TRUE-BORN ENGLISHMAN

I'll make it out, deny it he that can,
 His Worship is a *True-Born-Englishman*,
In all the Latitude that empty Word
By Modern Acceptation's understood.
 The Parish-Books his Great Descent Record,
 And now he hopes ere long to be a Lord.
 And truly as things go, it wou'd be pity
 But such as he *should Represent* the City:
 While Robb'ry for Burnt-Offering he brings,
 And gives to God what he has stole from Kings:
 Great Monuments of Charity he raises,
And good St. Magnus whistles out his Praises.
 To City-Goals he grants a Jubilee,
 And hires Huzza's from his own Mobilee.

Lately he wore the Golden Chain and Gown,
 With which Equipp'd, he thus harangu'd the Town.

SIR C[HARLE]S D[UNCOMB]'S

FINE SPEECH, &c.

With Clouted Iron Shoes, and Sheep-Skin Breeches,
 More Rags than Manners, and more Dirt than Riches,
 From driving Cows and Calves to *Layton-Market*,
 While of my Greatness there appear'd no Spark yet,
Behold I come, to let you see the Pride
With which Exalted Beggars always Ride.

Born to the Needful Labours of the Plow,
 The Cart-Whip grac'd me, as the Chain does now.
 Nature and Fate in doubt what Course to take,
 Whether I shou'd a Lord or Plough Boy make;
 Kindly at last resolv'd they wou'd promote me,

And first a *Knave*, and then a *Knight* they Vote me.
 What Fate appointed, Nature did prepare,
 And furnish'd me with an exceeding Care,
 To fit me for what they design'd to have me;
 And ev'ry Gift *but Honesty* they gave me.

And thus Equip'd, to this Proud Town I came,
 In quest of Bread, and not in quest of Fame.
 Blind to my future Fate, a humble Boy,
 Free from the *Guilt and Glory* I enjoy.
 The Hopes which my Ambition entertain'd,
 Were in the Name of *Foot-Boy*, all contain'd.
The Greatest Heights from Small Beginnings rise;
The Gods were Great on Earth, before they reach'd the Skies.

B[ack]well, the Generous Temper of whose Mind,
 Was always to be bountiful inclin'd:
 Whether by his ill Fate or Fancy led,
 First took me up, and furnish'd me with Bread:
 The little Services he put me to,
 Seem'd Labours, rather than were truly so.
 But always my Advancement he design'd;
 For 'twas his very Nature to be kind.
 Large was his Soul, his Temper ever free;
 The best of Masters and of Men to me.
 And I who was before decreed by Fate,
 To be made Infamous as well as Great,
 With an obsequious Diligence obey'd him,
Till trusted with his All, and then betray'd him.

All his past Kindnesses I trampled on,
 Ruin'd his Fortunes to erect my own.
So Vipers in the Bosom bred, begin,

To hiss at that Hand first which took them in.
 With eager Treach'ry I his Fall pursu'd,
 And my first Trophies were *Ingratitude*.

Ingratitude, the worst of Humane Guilt,
 The basest Action Mankind can commit;
 Which like the Sin against the Holy Ghost,
 Has least of Honour, and of Guilt the most;
 Distinguish'd from all other Crimes by this,
 That 'tis a Crime which no Man will confess.
 That Sin alone, which shou'd not be forgiv'n
 On Earth, altho' perhaps it may in Heav'n.

Thus my first Benefactor I o'erthrew;
 And how shou'd I be to a second true?
 The Publick Trust came next into my Care,
 And I to use them scurvily prepare:
 My Needy Sov'reign Lord I play'd upon,
 And lent him many a Thousand of his own;
 For which, great Int'rests I took care to charge,
 And so my ill-got Wealth became so large.

My Predecessor *Judas* was a Fool,
 Fitter to ha' been whipt, and sent to School,
 Than sell a Saviour: Had I been at Hand,
 His Master had not been so cheap trepann'd;
 I would ha' made the eager *Jews* ha' found,
 For Thirty Pieces, Thirty Thousand Pound.

My Cousin *Ziba*, of Immortal Fame,
 (*Ziba and I shall never want a Name:*)
 First-born of Treason, nobly did advance
 His Masters Fall, for his Inheritance.

By whose keen Arts old *David* first began
To break his sacred Oath to *Jonathan*:
The Good Old King 'tis thought was very loth
To break his Word, and therefore broke his Oath.
Ziba's a Traytor of some Quality,
Yet *Ziba* might ha' been inform'd by me:
Had I been there, he ne'er had been Content
With half th' Estate, nor half the Government.

In our late Revolution 'twas thought strange,
That I of all Mankind shou'd like the Change,
But they who wonder'd at it, never knew,
That in it I did my old Game pursue:
Nor had they heard of Twenty thousand Pound.
Which ne'er was lost, yet never could be found.

Thus all things in their turn to Sale I bring,
God and my Master first, and then the King:
Till by successful Villanies made Bold,
I thought to turn the Nation into Gold;
And so to Forg[er]y my Hand I bent,
Not doubting I cou'd gull the Government;
But there was ruffl'd by the Parliament. }
And if I scap'd the unhappy Tree to Climb,
'Twas want of Law, and not for want of Crime.

But my¹ *Old Friend*, who printed in my Face
A needful Competence of *English* Brass,
Having more Business yet for me to do,
And loth to lose his trusty Servant so,
Manag'd the Matter with such Art and Skill,
As sav'd his Hero, and threw out the B[il]l.

¹*The Devil.*

And now I'm grac'd with unexpected Honours,
 For which I'll certainly abuse the Donors:
 Knighted, and made a Tribune of the People,
 Whose Laws and Properties I'm like to keep well:
 The *Custos Rotulorum* of the City,
 And Captain of the Guards of their *Banditti*.
 Surrounded by my Catchpoles, I declare
 Against the Needy Debtor open War.
 I hang poor Thieves for stealing of your Pelf,
 And suffer none to Rob you, but my self.

The King commanded me to help Reform ye,
 And how I'll do't, Miss M - - - - n shall inform ye.
 I keep the best Seraglio in the Nation,
 And hope in time to bring it into Fashion.
 No *Brimstone Whore* need fear the Lash from me,
 That part I'll leave to Brother *Jeffery*.
 Our Gallants need not go abroad to *Rome*,
 I'll keep a Whoring Jubilee at Home.
 Whoring's the Darling of my Inclination;
A'n't I a Magistrate for Reformation?
 For this my Praise is sung by ev'ry Bard,
 For which *Bridewell* wou'd be a just Reward.
 In Print my Panegyricks fill the Street,
 And hired Gaol-Birds their Huzza's Repeat.
 Some Charity's contriv'd to make a show,
 Have taught the Needy Rabble to do so;
 Whose empty Noise is a Mechanick Fame,
 Since for Sir *Beelzebub* they'd do the same.

THE CONCLUSION

Then let us boast of Ancestors no more,
Or Deeds of Heroes done in Days of Yore,
In latent Records of the Ages past,
Behind the Rear of Time, in long Oblivion plac'd.
For if our Virtues must in Lines descend,
The Merit with the Families would end:
And Intermixtures would most fatal grow;
For Vice would be Hereditary too;
The tainted Blood wou'd of Necessity,
In voluntary Wickedness convey.

Vice, like Ill-Nature, for an Age or two,
May seem a Generation to pursue:
But Virtue seldom does regard the Breed;
Fools do the Wise, and Wise Men Fools succeed.
What is't to us, what Ancestors we had?
If Good, what Better? Or what worse, if bad?
Examples are for Imitation set,
Yet all Men follow Virtue with Regret.

Cou'd but our Ancestors retrieve their Fate,
And see their Off-spring thus degenerate;
How we contend for Birth and Names unknown,
And Build on their past Actions, not our own;
They'd cancel Records, and their Tombs deface,
And openly disown the Vile Degenerate Race:
For Fame of Families is all a Cheat,
'Tis Personal Virtue only makes us Great.

FINIS

The HISTORY *of the*
KENTISH PETITION

THE HISTORY OF THE KENTISH PETITION
*was published in August, 1701. The present edition is a re-
print of a copy in the Bodleian Library. This pamphlet ex-
plains the circumstances in which the famous Legion's
Memorial [see page 103] was presented to the House of
Commons, and is printed before it for that reason, though it
was not published until some weeks later. A short historical
note will be found at the end of the volume.*

THE PREFACE

'**T** Would be hard to suspect him of Errors in Fact, who writes the Story of Yesterday: A Historian of three Weeks must certainly be just, for had he never so much mind to Lye 'twou'd be Nonsense to expect the World cou'd be impos'd upon: every Bodies Memory would be a living Witness against him, and the Effect wou'd be only to expose himself.

Authors of Histories generally Appologize for their Quotations, plead their Industry in the search after Truth, and excuse themselves by asserting the Faithfulness of their Collections. The Author of the following Sheets is not afraid to let the World know, that he is so sure every thing related in this Account is Litterally and Positively true, that he challenges all the Wit and Malice the World abounds with, to confute the most trifling Circumstance.

If Aggravations are omitted, and some very ill natur'd passages let go without Observations, those Persons who were guilty of them, may observe that we have more good Nature than they have Manners; and they ought to acknowledge it, since a great many Rudenesses both against the King Himself and the Gentlemen concern'd have 'scap'd their scurrilous Mouths, which are not here animadverted upon.

And least the World should think this Presumptive, and that the Accusation is only a surmise, we will Query what they think of that kind Remark of Mr. J. H[o]w[e], finding the King's Letter to the House, and the Kentish Petition to come both on a Day, and the substance to be the same, That the King, the Dutch, and the Kentish Men, were all in a Plot against the House of Commons.

I could have swell'd this Pamphlet to a large Volume, if I shou'd pretend to Collect all the Billingsgate Language of a certain House full of Men, against the King, the Lords, and the Gentlemen of Kent, but 'tis a fitter subject for a

Satyr than a History, they have abus'd the Nation, and now are become a Banter to themselves; and I leave them to consider of it, and reform.

I assure the World, I am no Kentish Man, nor was my Hand to the Petition: Tho had I been acquainted with it, I would have gone a Hundred Miles to ha' sign'd it, and a Hundred more to have had the opportunity of serving my Country at the Expence of an Unjust Confinement for it.

It may be fairly concluded I am no Warwickshire Man neither, with a Petition in my Pocket, brought a Hundred Miles, and afraid to deliver it.

Nor my Name Sir Robert Clayton, by which you may know that I did not promise the Members, who were then in fear enough, to use my Interest to stifle a City Petition.

Nor is my Name Legion, I wish it were, for I shou'd ha' been glad to be capable of speaking so much Truth, and so much to the purpose, as is contain'd in that Unanswerable Paper.

But I am an unconcern'd Spectator, and have been an exact observer of every passage, have been an Eye and Ear Witness of every most Minute Article, and am sure that every thing related is Exactly True, as the Causes of it all are Scandalous and Burthensome to the Nation.

As to the Gentlemen of the House of Commons, I shall not pretend to enter into their Character, because I care not to enter into Captivity, nor come into the Clutches of that worst of Brutes their Sergeant.

Litterally speaking, no Member of the House of Commons can be a Jacobite, because they have taken the Oaths to King William. But this may be observed, that the Jacobites in England are generally the only People who approve of their Proceedings, and applaud their Measures; and 'tis observable that at Paris, and St. Germans, the general Complement of a

Health in all English Company is a la Sante Monsieur Jack How; the truth of which there are not a few very good Gentlemen in Town can attest, from whence I think I may draw this Observation, that either he is a Jacobite, or the Jacobites are a very good Natur'd People.

Noscitur ex socio qui non Dignoscitur ex se.

The following Pages contain an exact History of the Kentish Petition, and of the Treatment the Gentlemen who presented it, met with both from the House, the Sergeant, and at last from their Country.

The best way to come to a Conclusion, whether the Gentlemen Petitioners were well or ill used, is to review the Matter of Fact; all Panegyricks, and Encomiums, came short of the Natural Reflections which flow from a True Account of that proceeding, and the whole is Collected in this form, that all the World may judge by a true light, and not be Imposed upon, by Partial and Imperfect Relations.

The HISTORY *of the* KENTISH PETITION

ON the 29th of *April*, 1701, the Quarter-Sessions for the County of *Kent*, began at *Maidstone*, where *William Colepeper* of *Hollingbourn*, Esq; was chosen Chair-Man, tho he was then absent, and with an unusual Respect the Bench of Justices proceeded to do Business, and kept the Chair for him, for several Hours, till he came.

The People of the County of *Kent*, as well as in most parts of the Kingdom, had expressed great Dissatisfaction at the slow proceedings of the Parliament; and that the *King* was not assisted, nor the *Protestants* abroad considered; and the Country People began to say to one another in their Language, *That they had sow'd their Corn, and the French were a coming to Reap it*: And from hence it is allow'd to proceed, that during the sitting of the Session, several of the principal Freeholders of the County applyed themselves to the Chair-Man aforesaid, and told him, It was their Desire that the Bench would consider of making some Application to the Parliament, to acquaint them of the Apprehensions of the People.

The Chair-Man reply'd, It was the proper work of the Grand-Jury to present the Grievances of the Country, and therefore he referred them to the said Grand Jury who were then sitting.

The Grand-Jury being applyed to, accepted the Proposal, and addressing to the said Mr. *Colepeper*, the

Chair-Man acquainted him that they had approv'd of such a Motion made as before, and desir'd that the Bench would joyn with them; the Chair-Man told them he would acquaint the Justices of it, which he did; and they immediately approv'd of it also, and desir'd the said *W. Colepeper*, Esq; their Chair-Man, to draw a Petition.

Mr. *Colepeper* withdrew to Compose it, and having drawn a Petition, it was read, and approved, and immediately ordered to be carried to the Grand-Jury, being 21 in Number, who all Unanimously sign'd it, and brought it into Court, desiring all the Gentlemen on the Bench would do the same; whereupon the Chair-Man and 23 of the Justices sign'd it, and the Freeholders of the County crouded in so fast, that the Parchment was filled up in less than 5 Hours time; and many Thousands of Hands might have been had to it, if the Justices had not declin'd it, refusing to add any more Rolls of Parchment, as insisting more upon the Merits of the Petition, than the Number of the Subscribers.

By all which it appears how foolish and groundless their Pretences are, who would suggest, that the Petition was a private thing, transacted by a few People; whereas 'tis plain, 'twas the Act and Deed of the whole Country.

The Words of the Petition are as follows.

To the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses in Parliament assembled.

The Humble Petition of the Gentlemen, Justices of the Peace, Grand-Jury, and other Freeholders, at the General Quarter-Sessions of the Peace holden at Maidstone, the 29th of April, in the 13th Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord King William III. over England, &c.

WE, the Gentlemen, Justices of the Peace, Grand-Jury, and other Freeholders, at the General Quarter-Sessions at *Maidstone*, in *Kent*, deeply Concern'd at the Dangerous Estate of this *Kingdom*, and of all *Europe*; and considering that the Fate of *Us* and our *Posterity* depends upon the Wisdom of Our *Representatives* in *Parliament*, think Our Selves bound in Duty Humbly to lay before this Honourable House, the Consequences in this Conjunction of your Speedy Resolution, and most Sincere Endeavour to Answer the Great Trust Reposed in You by Your Country.

And in regard that from the Experience of all Ages it is manifest, no Nation can be Great and Happy without Union, We hope that no *Pretence* whatsoever shall be able to Create a *Misunderstanding* among our Selves, or the least *Distrust* of His Majesty, Whose Great *Actions* for this Nation are writ in the Hearts of His Subjects, and can never, without the blackest Ingratitude, be forgot.

We most Humbly Implore this Honourable House to have Regard to the *Voice of the People*, that Our *Religion* and *Safety* may be Effectually Provided for, that Your *Loyal Addresses* may be turned into *Bills of Supply*, and that His Most *Sacred Majesty*, (whose *Propitious* and *Unblemish'd Reign* Over Us We pray God long to continue) may be Enabled Powerfully to Assist His Allies before it be too late.

And Your Petitioners shall ever Pray, &c.

*Signed by all the Deputy-Lieutenants there
Present, above Twenty Justices of the
Peace, and all the Grand-Jury, and
other Freeholders, then there.*

As soon as the Petition was Sign'd, and there was no

more Room for any Hands, it was deliver'd by the Grand-Jury to the aforesaid *William Colepeper* Esq; Chair-Man of the Session, and he was desir'd to present it in their Names to the Parliament, which at their request he promised to do; and the rest of the Gentlemen, viz. *Thomas Colepeper* Esq; *Justinian Champneys* Esq; *David Polhill* Esq; and *William Hamilton* Esq; offered themselves to go with him.

On *Tuesday* the 6th of *May*, they came to Town with the Petition, and the next day they went up to the House, and applyed themselves to Sir *Thomas Hales*, in order to desire him to present it to the House, he being one of the Representatives of the County of *Kent*; Sir *Thomas* read the Petition, and telling them it was too late to present it that day, it being after 12 a Clock; desir'd they wou'd let him show it Mr. *Pelham* of *Sussex*, and Mr. *Colepeper* told him he was willing enough Mr. *Pelham* shou'd see the Petition, not doubting he wou'd be a Friend to it, but that he was unwilling to part with it, being entrusted with it by his Country, adding, *That he should make but an Indifferent Figure in the County, if the Petition should be got out of his Hands and lost*. Whereupon Sir *Thomas Hales*, past his Word, and Honour that he would not show it to any Person whatever, but to Mr. *Pelham*, and that he would return it to them immediately. But his Word and Honour so solemnly engag'd, was as easily forgotten: For having got the Petition, he carried it into the House, where he stay'd an hour and half, and then returning, he gave it to the Gentlemen and told them he had shown it to Sir *Edward Seymour* and several others.

This Perfidious Action [towards] that very part of the Nation which he represented, deserves some special No-

tice, and there is no question but the People will remember it for him, and show their Resentment on proper occasions.

Mr. *Colepeper* in the Name of the rest, gave him an Answer suitable to the action, and sufficient to let him know their Surprize at so Ungentleman-like Usage; viz. *That he had broke his Word, and served his Country very ill*: But this being neither place, nor season for further Debates, he appointed to meet them in the Evening, and then after making them wait two Hours, beyond his time, he adjourn'd them till next Morning in the *Court of Request*, where he told them absolutely, *That he wou'd not deliver the Petition*.

Here it is very observable, that at the very time Sir *Thomas Hales* came out of the House, and return'd the Petition in the manner abovemention'd, Mr. *Meredith* the other Representative for the County, came to them and told them that their Petition had been expos'd in the House, and that Mr. *How* was then making a Speech against it.

The Gentlemen finding themselves thus betrayed by Sir *Thomas Hales*, consulted together, about finding another more proper Person to deliver the Petition, and resolv'd to apply themselves to Mr. *Meredith*, the other Member for the County of *Kent*, and Mr. *Meredith* having agreed to Deliver it, in case Sir *Thomas Hales* should refuse, had appointed to meet them, with several other Gentlemen Members of the House, in order to consult about the matter of the Petition, and the manner of delivering it.

In the Morning the House being met, Mr. *Meredith* came out and told them, That the House was in such a Ferment, that none of the Gentlemen durst appear for it,

nor come to them, and he doubted would not venture so much as to speak a Word in the House for the Petition.

Nor were these all the Discouragements the Gentlemen met with in their Presenting the Petition, but several Members of the House pretending respect, and others that were really their Friends, and in concern for them, came out of the House to them, and endeavour'd to persuade them not to expose themselves to the fury of the House, by delivering the Petition; telling them that Mr. How in particular, had said, *That if there were One Hundred Thousand Hands to the Petition, they should be all be made examples of.* And Sir Edward Seymour added, *That the whole County should be Double tax'd, and the Estates of those who presented it, be Confiscated to the use of the War.*

Altho' these Menaces, together with the almost Omnipotent Power of the House of Commons, had Circumstances enough in them to shake the Resolution of a whole County, yet they had not the Effects here which was expected, for the Gentlemen far from being terrified at all this, unanimously declar'd their Resolution to discharge the Trust plac'd in them by their Country, *and to present it to the House*; and Mr. William Colepeper in particular alluding to the Words of Luther, *to those who dissuaded him from going to the City of Worms*, told them, *That if every Tile upon the Chappel of Saint* Stephen's was a Devil, he would present the Petition.* And all of them declar'd, *That if one of the Gentlemen wou'd [not] do their Country so much service as to present their Grievances to the Parliament in a Legal Petition, they wou'd knock at the Door of the House and deliver it themselves.*

Mr. Meredith finding the Gentlemen so resolute, did

*The House that the Commons sit in, was formerly St. Stephen's Chappel.

consent to carry in the Petition, which he perform'd with great Discretion and Fidelity.

The Petition being thus delivered, the Gentlemen attended; for Mr. *Speaker* further to Intimidate them, had let fall some Speeches, that *It was the usage of the House when a Petition was brought in, the Persons who presented it, ought to be ready without to justify the matter of their Petition.* And the Gentlemen seeing no reason to be asham'd of theirs, in particular, resolv'd to bide the utmost which their and the Nation's Enemies could do to them.

Having waited about half an Hour, they were call'd in to the Bar of the House, where Mr. *Speaker* *Treating them in his usuall haughty Tone,* This short Dialogue past between them.

Speaker. Holding up the Petition by one Corner. Gentlemen, is this your Petition?

Gentlemen. Bowing very respectfully. Yes, Mr. *Speaker.*

Speaker. And Gentlemen, you own this Petition?

Gentlemen. Yes, Mr. *Speaker.*

Speaker. And Gentlemen, your Hands are to this Petition?

Gentlemen. Yes, Mr. *Speaker.*

Speaker. Turning to one of the Clerks. Carry it to them and see if they will own their Hands.

(Which they severally did.)

Speaker. Withdraw, and expect the Order of the House.

Where upon they withdrew, and attended in the *Lobby*, and now began the second Attack upon the[ir] Resolutions; for the Members, who came out represented with all the Terror imaginable the Fury of the House; *Imprisonment and the Ruine of their Fortunes and Families was the least they had to expect; Impeachments, Laws Ex post Facto,*

tacking them to Money-Bills, and all Arbitrary Methods, which any Arbitrary Parliament have ever made use of to Ruine those who have felt their Magnipotent Indignation, were laid before them. When some who pretended Pity for the Misfortune of so many worthy Gentlemen, came out of the House, and told them they had yet a Lucky Moment left them, by an immediate submission, to fly to the Clemency of the House, that they were sent out by Sir *Edward Seymour*, and the rest of the Gentlemen on that side, to let them know that Mr. *How* was now speaking, and would continue so for some time, to give them opportunity to recollect themselves, and by a timely acknowledgment to save themselves from Ruin.

The Gentlemen being at a loss to know in what particular they could have given the House such Offence, and being well assur'd they were in the protection of the Law, and had not acted any thing but what the known Constitution of the Realm expressly allow'd, remain'd still unshaken, and boldly replied, They had nothing to say but what was in their Petition.

But being further pressed by Sir *Theophilus Oglethorp*, and several other Gentlemen; and because they wou'd not show any Disrespect to the House, or seem to slight their Displeasure, they consider'd of an Answer to be given to the proposal of Submission.

And because whatever Answer they gave, might be misrepresented to the House, delivered by Word of Mouth, they resolved to put it into Writing, and having consulted a while, they agreed to send in this Civil Answer.

We are Humbly of Opinion, that it is our Right to petition this Honourable House according to the Statute of 13 CAR. 2.

As to the matter of our Petition, We declare that we Intend Nothing Offensive to this Honourable House.

This Writing being shown to Sir *Theophilus Oglethorp*, and several other Members, they began to smile; and imagin'd their Point gain'd; and told the Gentlemen they were glad they began to be sensible of their danger; and if they would but add one Word more, *viz.* that they were sorry for what they had done, they wou'd undertake for the Clemency of the House: This they unanimously refused, one of the Gentlemen with some heat, replying, We will have no Sorry. Here the Members (or Conspirators rather) would have had them put it, That they did it thro' Inadvertency. This they also refused, declaring they did it at the Request of their Country, maturely, and deliberately, were justified in doing it by the Laws of the Land, and they would never recede from it. So they deliver'd the Paper to Sir *Thomas Hales*, but whether he delivered it to the House or not he never had the Civility to inform them.

The Debate in the House held Five hours, after which Notice was given them by the Messengers, that the House had Voted the *Petition* Scandalous, Insolent, and Seditious, *vid.* the Votes, *tending to destroy*, &c. and order'd them to be taken into Custody for the same; upon which the Gentlemen went, and immediately surrendred themselves to the Sergeant, tho the Warrant was not made out for some hours after.

The Sergeant only asked them where he should come to them at Dinner, which was agreed to be at the *Castle-Tavern* in *Fleet-Street*, where they Din'd, on *Thursday*,

Friday, and *Saturday*, and were hitherto very civilly treated of his Officers; and accompanied by great Numbers of Citizens and Gentlemen of the first Quality, and not a few of the Nobility; the Officers were seldom with them, went of Errands for them, and often times were all absent together; so that there was no colour of Reason for the Sergeant to say, he fear'd a Rescue, for they had all the Opportunities they could desire, if they had had the least design to escape, *and 'twas never heard of that they who cou'd escape when they pleased, would expose their Friends to the hazard of a Rescue.*

On *Friday* in the Evening, Mr. Sergeant began to treat with them; and representing his absolute Power, letting them know, *That he had an Unbounded liberty of using them at Discretion, that could confine them at pleasure, put them in Dungeons, lay them under Ground, keep them apart, remove them daily, and keep all People from them, by making them close Prisoners.* He thereby gave them to understand, that he expected a Consideration suitable to his Civility; upon this the Gentlemen offered him One Hundred Guineas, half in Hand, and the other when they shou'd be Discharg'd, tho' it should be next day: The Sergeant neither accepted nor refus'd the offer, nor express'd any dislike, as if he thought it too little; but appointed to come to them the next day.

Saturday in the Evening Mr. Thomas Colepeper, having notice that his Lady was very much frighted at his Confinement, desir'd leave of the Messenger, in whose Custody he was, to let him go down to *Maidstone*, upon his parole to return by *Monday* night; which the Messenger tacitly granted.

The rest of the Gentlemen being met at the Tavern,

expecting the Sergeant according to appointment, and having waited till Ten a Clock; instead of coming himself, he sends Orders to the Messengers to separate the Gentlemen, and confine them in several Prisons, that very Night: which Orders the Officers executed rudely as the Sergeant could desire, saving that they obtained the Civility from the Officers to be confined two in one place, and two in another, but were hurried away with such Unmannerly Indecency, that they would not permit them to send for their Night-Gowns, and Necessaries.

In this manner Mr. *William Colepeper*, and Mr. *Justinian Champneys* were carried to *Myat's* House, the Messenger in *Fox-Court*, in *Holborn*, where they had this hard Choice proposed to them at their Entrance, whether they would Lodge in the Cellar or the Garret? and choosing the latter they were thrust into a little Hole, on top of the House, where they had all the Inconveniences of a nasty Prison, as *base Lodging*, *foul Sheet*, *little Covering*, and a *Cold Room*; by which means they both took such Cold, as they have not yet recovered.

But Mr. Sergeant, *lest they should not be treated ill enough*, coming the next Morning to Mr. *Myat's* House, was in a great rage at him, and drawing his Sword, cut him over the Head, for *using the Gentlemen so civilly*, as he call'd it: Afterwards coming up into the Garret where Mr. *Colepeper* and Mr. *Justinian Champneys* were lodg'd, they ask'd him, What Order he had for using them thus? He replied, He had an Order from those who committed them. Being ask'd again, If there was any such Vote past in the House? he said No, but he had an Order. Mr. *Colepeper* replied, *If it be not a Vote of the House, pray how is it an Order? Have the Majority of the House, one by one, come to you and given you Direction to use us thus barbarously?* he re-

plied Yes, they had. For which scandalous Reflection, if False, his Masters the Members of the House of Commons, are exceedingly oblig'd to him. Mr. *Colepeper* told him, *He believed he should live to see him Hang'd*: And so they parted.

All this while Mr. *Polbill* and Mr. *Hamilton* were put into a Cellar, without the favour of having their choice, and had so vile a Lodging, that they could scarce breathe; and was likewise in their turn *Bullyed* by Mr. Sergeant the next day; and when they ask'd him, to show them the Copy of their Commitment, he denyed it; Mr. *Polbill* in particular replied, 'They ask'd him nothing but what by Law he ought to grant: he rudely replied, *He cared not a Fart for them, nor the Law neither*. And so left them; which Refusal of his he may hear of again perhaps in a way of Legal Application.

On *Tuesday* he gave the House notice, that the younger Mr. *Colepeper* had made his escape, *tho he had a Letter from him that he wou'd be in Town that very Day*; and at the same time he made a Complaint that the other Gentlemen behaved themselves so disorderly, that he apprehended a Rescue; tho the Gentlemen, to avoid any suspicion, had voluntarily surrendred their Swords to the Messengers, without being required so to do.

This complaint to the House was the Gentlemen's Deliverance, and the Sergeant's disappointment, tho not in kindness to them neither, for ordering them to the *Gate-house*, as a more Ignominious Confinement, the Sergeant lost the Extravagant Fees which he design'd to Extort from them; and the Humanity of Captain *Taylor*, the Keeper of the *Gate-house*, made their restraint easie to them: For this Keeper used them like Gentelmen, and

the Reputation he has obtain'd by his Civility, will be as Lasting as the Infamy of the *Sergeant*; the one leaves a grateful Acknowledgment in the Mouth of all Men, and will always be spoken of to his Advantage; and the other *Nauseous, like the Person*, is dishonourable both to his Memory, and to the House that imploy'd him.

On *Wednesday*, *Thomas Colepeper* Esq; the younger Brother, who had been in *Kent*, and who was just come up, according to his promise, rendred himself to the *Speaker*, and desired to be sent to his Brethren; Mr. *Sergeant* who thought to make himself amends upon him, labours to have him continu'd in his Custody, and had not that Party in the House thought the *Gatehouse* a greater punishment, possibly it had been so. *But therein that Infallible House were deceiv'd*, and he was deliver'd from the hands of a Villain, by his Enemies themselves, who thought they had mortify'd him the more, to the infinite regret of the Sergeant, and the general satisfaction of his fellow Sufferers.

The same Morning that Mr. *Colepeper* surrendred himself, *The Legion Paper*, as 'twas call'd, was sent to the House; 'twas said, it was delivered the Speaker by a Woman, but I have been inform'd since, that it was a mistake, and that 'twas deliver'd by the very Person who wrote it, guarded with about 16 Gentlemen of Quality, who if any notice had been taken of him, were ready to have carried him off by Force; 'twas reported, that Mr. *Tho. Colepeper* brought it out of *Kent*, and that all the County were at his Heels to make it good, tho it was really no such thing, and that Gentleman declar'd he knew nothing at all of it.

But be it as it will, that Paper struck such a Terror in-

to the Party in the House, that from that time there was not a Word ever spoken in the House, of proceeding against the *Kentish* Petitioners; and the Members of that party began to drop off, and get into the Country, for their Management began to be so disliked over the whole Nation, that their own Fears dictated to them they had run things too far.

The Clashings with the upper House about the Tryal of the Four Peers they had Impeached, and the miserable shifts they were driven to by the Lords, to avoid Trying them, serv'd but to make them more uneasy, and to hasten the dispatch of the Money-Bills, in order to the Prorogation, which was on the 23rd of *June*, 1701.

By the Prorogation, the *Kentish* Gentlemen were discharg'd, but to show their respect to the Civility of Captain *Taylor* their Keeper, they continu'd to Lodge with him till they went into the Country.

The First Honour done to them on account of their Sufferings, was their being invited to a Noble Entertainment at *Mercers-Hall* in *Cheapside*, at the charge of the Citizens of *London*, where above 200 Gentlemen din'd with them, together with several Noble Lords and Members of Parliament.

Thursday the 2d of *July*, they set out for *Kent*; the Citizens had offered to accompany them out of Town, but they declin'd it, desiring to go privately.

And those who pretend to charge them with affecting Popularity, would do well to remember, that they were fain to send their Coaches empty out of Town, and go by Water to meet them, to avoid the Respect which the Citizens would have shown them.

But there was no shunning the Appearance of the Country, who show'd their value for the Gentlemen, and

the Cause for which they had suffered in all possible terms of Respect and Affection.

The first Instance of this was at *Black-beath*, where Mr. *David Polbill*, one of the Gentlemen, was to separate from the rest, his Road lying near *Bromley* to his House at *Ottford* in *Kent*. He was met at *Black-beath* by above 500 Horse, who receiv'd him into the midst of them, and surrounded his Coach with such Shouts, and Joy, as sufficiently testified their Respect for him, and their Satisfaction at his Return among them: Nor can I omit that having, to satisfy my Curiosity, drank among and discoursed with some of that Party, while they were waiting for Mr. *Polbill*: I never heard of any Gentleman more universally beloved by the Country, or more particularly distinguish'd for the Modesty and Temper; and I believe I may affirm that 'twou'd be hard to find any Gentleman so near the City of *London*, who could have had such an appearance, of his own Tenants and Neighbours, to Congratulate his Deliverance.

Mr. *Polbill* being come to the Corner of the Park-Wall on *Black-beath*, stopt to take his leave of his Brethren, and giving them a Loud Huzza, wisht them a good Journey, and proceeded to *Ottford*.

All possible Demonstrations of Joy concluded the Day, and it has not been known that the Country ever express'd more Satisfaction since the Coronation of King *William*, than at the return of this Gentleman.

The rest of the Gentlemen proceeded to *Rocheſter*, where they were met by such a Body of Horse, that the principal Inns of the Town could not entertain them, some of whom had come 20 Miles to meet 'em.

The Mayor of *Rocheſter* paid his Respect to them, and

complain'd that he had no notice given him of their coming, otherwise he would have met them out of Town with a good Body of Horse.

Here they rested to refresh themselves and Horses, and about 6 a Clock set forward for *Maidstone*; the People of *Maidstone*, tho it was Market-day, could not have patience to wait at the place where they generally go to meet the Judges, but a great many Horse-men met 'em on the Downs, and the top of *Boxley-hill* 4 miles from the Town.

At *Sandlin*, about 2 miles from the Town, the Gentlemen of the Neighbourhood met them with their Coaches, and an Innumerable multitude of People on Horse-back, and on Foot, shouting and bidding them welcome.

After a short stay here, to receive the Complements of the Gentlemen, they proceeded (the Gentlemen's Coaches falling into the Rear) to the Park, the Seat of the Lady *Taylor*, who is married to Mr. *Tho. Colepeper*; where they were welcom'd by the said Lady, the Old Lady *Colepeper* the Mother of the Gentlemen, and several Ladies of Quality, the People shouting all the while, *A Colepeper, A Colepeper*, and the Poor strowing the Ways with Greens and Flowers; and thus they proceeded into the Town, with such Universal Acclamations of the people, as the like was never seen in that Country since the Restoration of King *Charles* the Second.

The Night concluded with a great Bonfire, and the Healths of all the Gentlemen drank round it, to the great mortification of the *Jacobites*, of whom there are but very few in those parts; and to the general Satisfaction of the Country.

Nor was this the only Appearance, for at *Beartsted*, about 3 miles further, the Country was assembled, the

Bells rung, and several Hundreds of the people continued together all Night, with Extraordinary Joy, expecting that the Elder Mr. *Colepeper*, Mr. *Champneys*, and Mr. *Hamilton*, would have continued their journey to *Hollingbourne*, the Antient Seat of the Family of the *Colepepers*; But the Extraordinary Reception they found at *Maidstone*, had detain'd them so long, that 'twas too late to go on; so they lay at *Maidstone* that Night, and the next day abundance of Gentlemen and Country people, came particularly to pay their Respects to them, and bid them welcome into the Country.

And at the time of the Assizes lately held at *Maidstone*, the Grand Jury consisting of very eminent Gentlemen and Freeholders of the County, whereof 12 were Justices of the Peace, went in a Body to the Gentlemen, and publicly gave them Thanks for their Fidelity to the Country, in Delivering their Petition to the Parliament.

In all these Expressions of the Country's Joy at the return of these honest Gentlemen, it might be enquir'd, what they said of the Parliament? because 'tis so natural to Curse with one hand, when we Bless with the other, that it might be rational[ly] expected; 'tis true, the Country being justly disoblig'd at the ill usage of these Gentlemen, did not spare their Reflections, but I choose to pass it over, because 'tis not Parliaments in general, but *the Conspirators* and *Jacobite Party* in a Parliament, that are at present the Nation's burthen, and from whom she groans to be redeem'd.

THE CONCLUSION

HAd this Nation listen'd to the Calls of their own Reason, and to the Voice of things, all this Confusion of Councils had been prevented; had the people of *England* chosen Men of Honesty, and of peaceable principles, Men of Candor, disengaged from Intrest and Design, that had nothing before them but the Benefit of their Country, the Safety of Religion, and the Intrest of *Europe*, all this had been avoided; they would never have Imprison'd Five honest Gentlemen for coming to them with the Sence of their Country in a peaceable Petition; they would never have had the occasion to repent of their refusing to hearken to the Voice of the People: But it is too late to look back, the Nation has had the misfortune to choose them, and our peace, and Liberty, and the *Protestant* Intrest in *Europe* is too much in their Hands.

All the Advice I can pretend to give to my fellow Slaves, and Country-men, is that they would not be backward to let the Gentlemen know, that the Nation is sensible they are not doing their Duty; and withal, that to Impose upon the Rights and Liberties of the *English* Nation, has always been fatal to the persons of those who have attempted it, and their Examples stand as Buoys and Marks to warn posterity of the hidden Dangers which others have fallen into.

It has been fatal to *Favourites*, to *Judges*, to *Lords* and to *Kings*, and will certainly be so even to *Parliaments*, if they Descend to Abuse the *People* they represent.

The Imprisoning these Five Gentlemen, had neither Reason, Law, pretence, nor policy in it.

It had no Reason in it, because they had offended

against no Law, either of Reason, or the Nature of the thing.

It had no Law in it, because they had no Legal power to commit any but their own Members.

And I am of the opinion, they are Convinc'd there was no policy in it, for there is seldom much policy in doing that publickly, which we know we shall be asham'd of.

The not proceeding against them afterward, shew'd they were either asham'd or afraid; had they been in the Right, there could be no Reason to fear; and if in the Wrong, they had all the Reason in the World to be ashamed.

To commit Five Gentlemen to Custody, for Petitioning them to do what they really knew they ought to have done, 'twas the most preposterous thing in Nature: *To punish for Humbly Petitioning!* 'tis Nonsense in it self.

God himself permits the Meanest and most Despicable of his Creatures to remind him, *as we may say*, of their Wants, and Petition for his Aid: The most Contemptible Beggar is permitted to be Importunate for Relief, and tho the Law is against him, we are not affronted at it. But to resent the Representation of their Country, and Imprison Gentlemen who at the Request of the Freeholders of a County came, under the express protection of an Act of Parliament, to deliver a Petition! 'twas the most Ridiculous Inconsistent Action that ever Parliament of *England* was guilty of; and with submission, I think the best Action the same House can do at their next meeting, is to Vote that it should be Raz'd out of their Journals, and never be made a Precedent for the time to come; upon which condition, and no other, the Nation ought to forgive it them.

The Act of 13 *Car.* 2. to assert the Right of the Sub-
h

ject's Petitioning, is a sufficient Authority for any one to quote, and those that pretend to call this an Illegal Act, must first trample down the Authority of that Act of Parliament.

Let this Act justify me, in saying, that to Imprison *English men* for Petitioning, is Illegal, and a Dishonor to *English* Parliaments.

But say the Lame Excusers of this Excentrick Motion of the House, this was a Factious thing contriv'd by a few private Insignificant People of no value, and the Matter of it is Saucy and Impertinent.

First, had it been a Petition of the meanest and most inconsiderable Person in *England*, and that single by himself, provided he were a Freeholder of *England*, he had Legal Right to speak his mind; for that same Reason from whence the Commons in Parliament claim a Freedom of Speech, gives every Commoner a Freedom to Speak to the House, since every Freeholder has an equal concern in their Debates, and equal power in deputing them to sit there. But because this Right unlimited, might be tumultuous and uneasie, therefore the Method how he shall do it, is circumscrib'd for Decency-sake, that it shall be done by Petition; and that Petition shall be presented *so* and *so*, and by such a Number, and no more: But that it should not be lawful to Petition, no Tribunal, no Court, no Collective or Representative Body of Men in the World ever refused it; nay, the *Inquisition* of *Spain* does not forbid it, the *Divan* of the *Turks* allows it, and I believe if *Sathan* himself kept his Court in publick, he would not prohibit it.

But besides this, the Fact is not true: As for it being contriv'd by a few People, let the Impartial Relation here given, Answer that Ridiculous Untruth; unless you will

account the County of *Kent* a few, for certainly 11 parts of 12 in the whole County, and now of the whole Kingdom approve of it.

Nor has the Reproach upon the Persons, presenting it, more of truth; unless Gentlemen of Antient and Illustrious Families, whose Ancestors have been known for several Ages to be Men of Honor, and Estates, ally'd to several of the Nobility, and now known and valu'd by the whole County, both for their considerable Fortunes, as well as Personal Merit; unless I say such Men are to be accounted private and inconsiderable, the Charge cannot be true: To such I shall only say, that the Ancestors of these Gentlemen were Members of Antient Parliaments, and of such Parliaments as would have been asham'd of committing such an Absurdity as to Imprison the Freeholders of *England* for a peaceable Petition.

As to the Matter of the Petition, and which some People say was a Banter, the *turning their Loyal Addresses into Bills of Supply*. The Gentlemen ought to have had liberty to explain themselves, which if they had done, I am of the opinion that it would have been to this purpose; that *they thought it was proper the House should speedily supply the King so with Money, as that he might be Enabled to Defend our protestant Neighbors from the Encroachment of France; and not to lose their time in addressing the King in matters of less moment.*

I shall conclude with this short Animadversion by way of Remark, and let all Men judge of the justness of the Observation.

That as this was the First Time that ever the English Nation Petition'd to be Tax'd: So this was the first Parliament that ever address'd the King to take care of himself, and defend himself against his People.

SOME Book learn'd Fools pretend to find a Flaw,
 In our late Senate Votes for want of Law,
 And Insolently say the Men of *Kent*
 Were Rudely handled by the Parliament.
 Knowledge of things would teach them every Hour,
That Law is but an Heathen Word for Power.
 Might, Right, Force, Justice, Equitie,
 Are terms Synonimous, and must agree;
 For who shall e'er the Argument confute,
Where Power prevails, and no Man dare dispute.

Nature has left this Tincture in the Blood,
 That all Men wou'd be Tyrants if they cou'd.
 Not Kings alone, not Ecclesiastick pride,
 But *Parliaments*, and all Mankind beside.
 All men, like *Phæton*, would Command the Reins,
 'Tis only want of Power that restrains.
 Then why should we think strange the Parliament
 The People's late Petitions should resent:
'Tis fatal to Tyrannick Power, when they
Who shou'd be Ruin'd grumble to obey:
 And Tyrants never can compleat their Reign,
 So long as Injur'd Subjects *dare* complain;
 If they do not *their first address* withstand,
 What now they supplicate, they'l soon command;
 By first suppressing early Discontent,
 They aim'd the Consequences to prevent,
 For well they knew that shou'd the Nation try,
To ask once more, they dirst not twice deny.

England has this own Fate peculiar to her,
 Never to want a Party to undo her,
 The *Court*, the *King*, the *Church*, the *Parliament*,
 Alternat'ly persue the same Intent,
 Under the specious term of Liberty,
 The passive injur'd People to betray:

And it has always been the People's Fate,
 To see their own Mistakes when 'twas too late,
 Senceless of Danger, sleepy and secure,
 Till their Distempers grew too strong to cure,
 Till they're embrac'd by the approaching Grave,
 And none but *Jove* and Miracles can save.

In vain bold Hero's venture to redeem
 A People willing to sink than swim:
 If there's a *Brutus* in the Nation found,
 That dares *Patrician Usurpation* wound,
 He's sure to find an Ignominious Grave,
And perish by the People he would save.

Such are by Vertue signaliz'd in vain,
 We'll own the Merit, but abuse the Men.
Marius sav'd *Rome*, and was by *Rome* despis'd;
 And many a *Russell* we have sacrific'd.
 Then who for *English* Freedom would appear,
 Where Lives of Patriots are never dear,
 And Streams of Generous Blood flow unregarded there. }

Posterity will be asham'd to own
 The Actions we their Ancestors have done,
 When they for Antient Precedents enquire,
 And to the Journals of this Age retire,
 To see one Tyrant banish'd from his Home,
To set Five Hundred Traytors in his Room.
 They'l Blush to find the Head beneath the Tail,
 And representing, Treachery prevail:
 They'l be amaz'd to see there was *but Five*,
 Whose Courage could their Liberty survive,
 While we that durst Illegal Power dethrone,
 Should basely be Enslav'd by Tyrants of our own.

FINIS

London, Printed in the Year, 1701.

LEGION'S MEMORIAL

LEGION'S MEMORIAL was presented by Defoe in person to the Speaker of the House of Commons on May 14th, 1701. The present edition is reprinted from a copy without title-page or imprint, in the British Museum. The circumstances are explained in the previous pamphlet *The History of the Kentish Petition* (see page 73). A short historical note will be found at the end of the volume.

LEGION'S MEMORIAL

Mr. S[peake]R.

THE *Enclosed Memorial you are Charg'd with, in the behalf of many Thousands of the good People of England.*

There is neither Popish, Jacobite, Seditious, Court, or Party Interest concern'd in it; but honesty and Truth.

You are commanded by Two Hundred Thousand Englishmen, to deliver it to the H[ouse] of C[ommon]s and to inform them that it is no Banter, but Serious Truth; and a Serious Regard to it is expected; nothing but Justice, and their Duty is required, and it is required by them who have both a Right to Require, and Power to Compel, viz. the people of England.

We could have come to the House Strong enough to Oblige them to hear us, but we have avoided any Tumults, not desiring to Embroil, but to Save our Native Country.

If you refuse to Communicate it to them, you will find cause in a short time to Repent it.

To R[ober]t H[arle]y Esq; S[peake]r to the H[ous]e of C[ommon]s,

These.

The Memorial.

To the K[night]s, C[ommon]s, and B[urgesse]s in P[arliament] Assembled.

A Memorial,

From the Gentlemen, Free-holders, and Inhabitants of the Counties of ——— in behalf of themselves, and many Thousands of the good people of England.

Gentlemen,

It were to be wish'd you were Men of that Temper, and possess'd of so much Honour, as to bear with the Truth, tho' it be against you: Especially from us who have so much Right to tell it you, but since, Even Petitions to you from your Masters, (for such are the people who Chose you) are so Haughtily receiv'd, as with the Committing the Authors to Illegal Custody; you must give us leave to give you this fair Notice of your Misbehaviour, without Exposing our Names.

If you think fit to rectifie your Errors, you will do well, and possibly may hear no more of us; but if not, assure your selves the Nation will not long hide their Resentments. Andtho'thereareno stated Proceeding[s] tobring you to your Duty, yet the great Law of Reason says, and all Nations allow, that whatever Power is above Law, its Burthensom and Tyrannical; and may be reduc'd by *Extrajudicial* Methods: You are not above the Peoples Resentments, they that made you Members, may reduce you to the same Rank from whence they chose you; and may give you a Tast of their abused kindness, in Terms you may not be pleas'd with.

WhenthePeopleof *England* Assembl'd in Convention, Presented the Crown to His Present Majesty, they annexed a Declaration of the Rights of the People, in which was Express'd what was Illegal and Arbitrary in the former Reign, and what was claim'd as of Right to be done by Succeeding Kings of *England*.

Inlikemanner, herefollows, *Gentlemen*, a short abridgment of the Nations Grievances, and of your Illegal and Unwarrantable Practices; and a Claim of Right which we make in the Name of our Selves, and such of the good

People of *England*, as are justly Allarum'd at your Proceedings.

I. To raise Funds, for Money, and Declare by borrow'ng Clauses, that whosoever Advances Money on those Funds, shall be Re-imburs'd out of the Next Aids, if the Funds fall short; and then give Subsequent Funds, without Transferring the Deficiency of the former, is a horrible Cheat on the Subject who lent the Money; a Breach of Publick Faith, and destructive to the Honour and Credit of Parliaments.

II. To imprison Men who are not your own Members, by no Proceedings but a Vote of your House, and to continue them in Custody, *Sine Die*, is Illegal; a Notorious Breach of the Liberty of the People; Setting up a Dispensing Power in the House of Commons, which your Fathers never pretended to; bidding Defiance to the *Habeas Corpus* Act, which is the Bulwark of Personal Liberty, Destructive of the Laws, and Betraying the Trust repos'd in you. *The King at the same time being obliged to ask you leave to continue in Custody the Horrid Assassins of his Person.*

III. Committing to Custody those Gentlemen, who at the command of the People (whose Servants you are) and in a Peaceable way [came] to put you in mind of your Duty, is Illegal and Injurious; Destructive of the Subjects Liberty of Petitioning for Redress of Grievances, which has by all Parliaments before you, been acknowledged to be their undoubted Right.

IV. Voting a Petition from the Gentlemen of *Kent* Insolent, is Ridiculous and Impertinent, because the Freeholders of *England* are your Superiors; and is a contradiction in it self, and a Contempt of the *English* Freedom, and contrary to the Nature of Parliamentary Power.

V. Voting People Guilty of Bribery and Ill Practices, and Committing them as aforesaid, without Bail, and then upon Submission, and kneeling to your House, discharging them; Exacting Exorbitant Fees by your Officers is Illegal, Betraying the Justice of the Nation, Selling the Liberty of the Subject, encouraging the Extortion and Villany of Gaolers and Officers; and discontinuing the Legal Prosecutions of Offenders in the ordinary Course of Law.

VI. Prosecuting the Crime of Bribery in some to serve a Party, and then proceed no further, tho' Proof lay before you, is Partial and Unjust; and a Scandal upon the Honour of Parliaments.

VII. Voting the Treaty of Partition Fatal to *Europe*, because it gave so much of the *Spanish* Dominions to the *French*, and not concern your selves to prevent their taking Possession of it all. Deserting the *Dutch* when the *French* are at their Doors, till it be almost too late to help them; is Unjust to our Treaties, and unkind to our Confederates, Dishonourable to the *English* Nation, and shew you very negligent of the Safety of *England*, and of our Protestant Neighbours.

VIII. Ordering immediate hearings to trifling Petitions, to please Parties in Elections; and *Postpone*, the Petition of a Widow for the Blood of her Murthered Daughter, without giving it a reading; is an illegal Delay of Justice, dishonourable to the Publick Justice of the Nation.

IX. Addressing the King to displace his Friends upon bare Surmises, before a Legal Tryal or Article prov'd, is Illegal, and Inverting the Law, and making Execution go before Judgment; contrary to the true sence of the Law, which esteems every Man a good Man till something appears to the contrary.

X. Delaying Proceedings upon Capital Impeachments, to blast the Reputation of the Persons, without proving the Fact; is Illegal and Oppressive, Destructive of the Liberty of *Englishmen*, a Delay of Justice, and a Reproach to Parliaments.

XI. Suffering Sawcy and indecent Reproaches upon His Majesties Person to be publickly made in your House; particularly by that Impudent Scandal of Parliaments *J[ob]n H[o]w[e]*, without shewing such Resentments as you ought to do, The said *J[ob]n H[o]w[e]* saying openly "That His Majesty had made a Felonius Treaty to rob his Neighbours"; insinuating that the Partition Treaty (which was every way as just as blowing up one Man's House to save anothers) "was a Combination of the King to rob the Crown of *Spain* of its due." This is making a *Billingsgate* of the House, and setting up to *Bully* your Sovereign, contrary to the intent and meaning of that Freedom of Speech which you claim as a Right; is scandalous to Parliaments; Undutiful and Unmannerly, and a Reproach to the whole Nation.

XII. Your S[peake]r Exacting the Exorbitant Rate of 10*l. per Diem* for the V[otes], and giving the Printer incouragment to raise it on the People, by selling them at 4*d. per Sheet*; is an Illegal and Arbitrary Exaction, dishonourable to the *House*, and burthensome to the *People*.

XIII. Neglecting still to pay the Nations Debts, Compounding for Interest, and *Postponing* Petitions; is Illegal, Dishonourable, and Destructive of the Publick Faith.

XIV. Publickly neglecting the great work of *Reformation of Manners*, tho' often press'd to it by the King, to the great Dishonour of God, and incouragment of Vice; is a Neglect of your Duty, and an abuse of the Trust reposed in you, by *God*, His *Majesty*, and the *People*.

XV. Being Scandalously Vicious your selves, both in your Morals and Religion; Lewd in Life, and Erroneous in Doctrine, having publick Blasphemers and Impudent Deniers of the Divinity of our Saviour among you, and suffering them unreprieved and unpunished, to the infinite Regret of all good Christians, and the just Abhorrence of the whole Nation.

Wherefore, In the said Prospect of the impending Ruine of our Native Country, while Parliaments (which ought to be the Security and Defence of our Laws and Constitution) betray their Trust and abuse the People whom they should protect: And no other way being left us but *That Force* which we are very loath to make use of, that Posterity may know we did not insensibly fall under the Tyranny of a Prevailing Party, We do hereby

Claim and Declare.

1. That it is the Undoubted Right of the People of *England*, in case their Representatives in Parliament do not proceed according to their Duty, and the Peoples Interest, to inform them of their Dislike, disown their Actions, and to direct them to such things as they think fit, either by Petition, Address, Proposal, Memorial, or any other peaceable way.

2. That the *House of Commons*, separately and otherwise than by Bill legally Pass'd into an Act, have no Legal Power to suspend or dispense with the Laws of the Land, any more than the King has by his Prerogative.

3. That the *House of Commons* have no Legal Power to imprison any Person, or commit them to Custody of Serjants, or otherwise (their own Members excepted) but ought to Address the King, to cause any Person, on good Grounds, to be apprehended, which Person so appre-

hended, ought to have the Benefit of the *Habeas Corpus* Act, and be fairly brought to Tryal by due Course of Law.

4. That if the *House of Commons*, in Breach of the Laws and Liberties of the People, do betray the Trust repos'd in them, and act Negligently or Arbitrarily and Illegally, it is the undoubted Right of the People of *England* to call them to an Account for the same, and by Convention, Assembly or Force may proceed against them as Traitors and Betraiars of their Country.

These things we think proper to declare, as the unquestion'd Right of the People of *England*, whom you serve, and in pursuance of that Right (avoiding the Ceremony of Petitioning our Inferiors, for such you are by your present Circumstances, as the Person *sent* is less than the *Sender*) We do publicly protest against all your foresaid Illegal Actions, and in the Name of our Selves, and of all the good People of *England*, do

Require and Demand.

1. That all the Publick Just Debts of the Nation be forthwith Paid and Discharg'd.

2. That all Persons *illegally imprison'd*, as aforesaid, be either immediately discharged, or admitted to Bail, as by Law they ought to be; and the Liberty of the Subject Recogniz'd and Restor'd.

3. That *J[ob]n H[o]w[e]* aforesaid be obliged to ask His Majesty Pardon for his Vile Reflections, or be immediately Expell'd the House.

4. That the growing Power of *France* be taken into Consideration; the Succession of the Emperor to the Crown of *Spain* supported; our *Protestant* Neighbours protected, as the true Interest of *England*, and the *Protestant Religion* requires.

5. That the *French* King be obliged to quit *Flanders*, or that His Majesty be address'd to declare War against him.

6. That *Suitable Supplies* be granted to His Majesty for the putting all these necessary things in execution, and that care be taken that such Taxes as are raised, may be more equally Assessed and Collected, and scandalous Deficiencies prevented.

7. That the *Thanks of the House* may be given to those Gentlemen who so gallantly appear'd in the behalf of their Country, with the *Kentish* Petition, and have been so scandalously used for it.

Thus *Gentlemen*, You have your Duty laid before you, which 'tis hoped you will think of; but if you continue to neglect it, you may expect to be treated according to the Resentments of an *injur'd Nation*; for *Englishmen* are no more to be Slaves to *Parliaments*, than to a King.

Our Name is Legion, and we are Many

Postscript.

If you require to have this Memorial sign'd with our Names, it shall be done on your first Order and Personally Presented.

FINIS

The
SHORTEST-WAY
WITH THE
DISSENTERS:
OR
P R O P O S A L S
FOR THE
ESTABLISHMENT
OF THE
C H U R C H

LONDON :
Printed in the Year MDCCII.

Proposals for the Establishment of the Church, was first published on December 1, 1702 (4to, Title, pages 29). On the 25th of February, in the following year, the pamphlet was brought to the notice of the House of Commons, and ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. A proclamation, offering a reward of £50 for the discovery of Defoe—who is described as ‘a middle-sized spare man, about 40 years old, of a brown complexion, and dark brown coloured hair, but wears a wig’—had been already advertised in the London Gazette some six weeks previously (January 10). Upon the printer and bookseller being taken into custody, Defoe voluntarily gave himself up. While he was awaiting his trial, a volume of his collected writings was published, under the title of A True Collection of the Writings of the Author of the True-Born Englishman. Corrected by himself. London. 1703. The Shortest Way with Dissenters was here reprinted, with 21 other pieces; and Defoe took the opportunity of giving a further explanation of his motives in writing that disturbing pamphlet.

The present text is a careful reprint of the first edition, in which no attempt has been made to correct the vagaries of spelling, or to modernise the punctuation.

THE SHORTEST-WAY WITH THE DISSENTERS, &c.

SIR *Roger L'Estrange* tells us a Story in his Collection of Fables, of the Cock and the Horses. The Cock was gotten to Roost in the Stable, among the Horses, and there being no Racks or other Conveniencies for him, it seems, he was forc'd to roost upon the Ground; the Horses jostling about for room, and putting the Cock in danger of his Life, he gives them this grave Advice; *Pray Gentlefolks let us stand still, for fear we should tread upon one another.*

THERE are some People in the World, who now they are *unpearcht*, and reduc'd to an Equality with other People, and under strong and very just Apprehensions of being further treated as they deserve, begin with *Aesop's* Cock, to Preach up Peace and Union, and the Christian Duties of Moderation, forgetting, that when they had the Power in their Hands, those Graces were Strangers in their Gates.

It is now near Fourteen Years, that the Glory and Peace of the purest and most flourishing Church in the World has been Ecclips'd, Buffeted, and Disturb'd by a sort of Men, who God in his Providence has suffer'd to insult over her, and bring her down; these have been the Days of her Humiliation and Tribulation: She has born with an invincible Patience the Reproach of the Wicked, and God has at last heard her Prayers, and deliver'd her from the Oppression of the Stranger.

And now they find their Day is over, their Power gone, and the Throne of this Nation possess'd by a Royal, *English*, True, and ever Constant Member of, and Friend to

116 SHORTEST WAY WITH DISSENTERS

the Church of *England*. Now, they find that they are in danger of the Church of *England's* just Resentments; now they cry out, *Peace, Union, Forbearance, and Charity*, as if the Church had not too long harbour'd her Enemies under her Wing, and nourish'd the viperous Brood, till they hiss and fly in the Face of the Mother that cherish'd them.

No Gentlemen, the Time of Mercy is past, your *Day of Grace is over*; you shou'd have practis'd Peace, and Moderation, and Charity, if you expected any your selves.

We have heard none of this Lesson for Fourteen Years past: We have been huff'd and bully'd with your Act of Tolleration; you have told us that you are the *Churches* establish'd by Law, as well as others; have set up your Canting-Synagogues at our Church-Doors, and the Church and her Members have been loaded with Reproaches, with Oaths, Associations, Abjurations, and what not; where has been the Mercy, the Forbearance, the Charity you have shewn to *tender Consciences of the Church of England*, that cou'd not take Oaths *as fast as you made 'em*; that having sworn Allegiance to their lawful and rightful King, cou'd not dispence with that Oath, *their King being still alive*, and swear to your new *Hodge-podge of a Dutch-Government*. These ha' been turn'd out of their Livings, and they and their Families left to starve; their Estates double Tax'd to carry on a War they had *no Hand in*, and you *got nothing by*: What Account can you give of the Multitudes you have forc'd to comply, against their Consciences, with your new *sophistical Politicks*, who like the new Converts in *France*, Sin because they cannot Starve. And now the Tables are turn'd upon you, you *must not be Persecuted*, 'tis not a *Christian Spirit*.

You have *Butcher'd* one King, *Depos'd* another King,

and made a *mock King* of a Third; and yet you cou'd have the Face to expect to be employ'd and trusted by the Fourth; any body that did not know the Temper of your Party, wou'd stand amaz'd at the Impudence, as well as the Folly, to think of it.

Your Management of your *Dutch Monarch*, whom you reduc'd to a meer *King of Cl[ub]s*, is enough to give any future Princes such an Idea of your Principles, as to warn them sufficiently from coming into your Clutches; and God be thank'd, the Queen is out of your Hands, knows you, and will have a care of you.

There is no doubt but the supreme Authority of a Nation has in it self a Power, *and a Right to that Power*, to execute the Laws upon any Part of that Nation it governs. The execution of the known Laws of the Land, and that with but a weak and gentle Hand neither, was all that the phanatical Party of this Land have ever call'd Persecution; this they have magnified to a height, that the Sufferings of the *Hugonots* in *France* were not to be compar'd with—Now to execute the known Laws of a Nation upon those who transgress them, after having first been voluntarily consenting to the making those Laws, can never be call'd Persecution, but Justice. But Justice is always Violence to the Party offending, for every Man is Innocent in his own Eyes. The first execution of the Laws against Dissenters in *England*, was in the Days of King *James* the First; and what did it amount to, truly, the worst they suffer'd, was at their own request, to let them go to *New-England*, and erect a new Collony, and give them great Privileges, Grants, and suitable Powers, keep them under Protection, and defend them against all Invaders, and receive no Taxes or Revenue from them. This was the cruelty of the Church of *England*, fatal Lenity! 'Twas the ruin

of that excellent Prince, King *Charles* the First. Had King *James* sent all the Puritans in *England* away to the *West-Indies*, we had been a national unmix'd Church; the Church of *England* had been kept undivided and entire.

To requite the Lenity of the Father, they take up Arms against the Son; Conquer, Pursue, Take, Imprison, and at last put to Death the anointed of God, and Destroy the very Being and Nature of Government, setting up a sordid Impostor, who had neither Title to Govern, nor Understanding to Manage, but supplied that want with Power, bloody and desperate Councils and Craft, without Conscience.

Had not King *James* the First withheld the full execution of the Laws; had he given them strict Justice, he had clear'd the Nation of them, and the Consequences had been plain; his *Son had never been murther'd by them*, nor the Monarchy overwhelm'd; 'twas *too much Mercy* shewn them, was the ruin of his Posterity, and the ruin of the Nation's Peace. One would think the Dissenters should not have the Face to believe, that we are to be wheedl'd and canted into Peace and Toleration, when they know that they have once requited us with a civil War, and once with an intollerable and unrighteous Persecution for our former Civillity.

Nay, to encourage us to be Easy with them, 'tis apparent, that they never had the Upper-hand of the Church, but they treated her with all the Severity, with all the Reproach and Contempt as was possible: What Peace, and what Mercy did they shew the Loyal Gentry of the Church of *England* in the time of their Triumphant Commonwealth? How did they put all the Gentry of *England* to ransom, whether they were actually in Arms for the King or not, making people compound for their Estates,

and starve their Families? How did they treat the Clergy of the Church of *England*, sequester'd the Ministers, devour'd the Patrimony of the Church, and divided the Spoil, by sharing the Church-Lands among their Soldiers, and turning her Clergy out to starve; just such Measure as they have mete[d], shou'd be measur'd to them again.

Charity and Love is the known Doctrine of the Church of *England*, and 'tis plain she has put it in practice towards the Dissenters, even beyond what they ought, till she has been wanting to her self, and in effect, unkind to her own Sons; particularly, in the too much Lenity of King *James* the First, mentioned before, had he so rooted the Puritans from the Face of the Land, which he had an opportunity early to ha' done, they had not had the Power to vex the Church, as since they have done.

In the Days of King *Charles* the Second, how did the Church reward their bloody Doings with Lenity and Mercy, *except the barbarous Regicides of the pretended Court of Justice*; not a Soul suffer'd for all the Blood in an unnatural War: King *Charles* came in all Mercy and Love, cherish'd them, preferr'd them, employ'd them, withheld the rigour of the Law, and oftentimes, even against the Advice of his Parliament, gave them liberty of Conscience; and how did they requite him with the villanous Contrivance to Depose and Murther him and his Successor at the *Rye-Plot*.

KING *James*, as if Mercy was the inherent Quality of the Family, began his Reign with unusual Favour to them: Nor could their joining with the Duke of *Monmouth* against him, move him to do himself Justice upon them; but that mistaken Prince thought to win them by Gentle-

ness and Love, proclaim'd an universal Liberty to them and rather discountenanc'd the Church of *England* than them; how they required him all the World knows.

The late Reign [*William III,*] is too fresh in the Memory of all the World to need a Comment; how under Pretence of joining with the Church in redressing some Grievances, they pusht things to that extremity, in conjunction with some mistaken Gentlemen, as to *depose* the late King, as if the Grievance of the Nation cou'd not ha' been redress'd but by the absolute ruin of the Prince: Here's an Instance of their Temper, their Peace, and Charity. To what height they carried themselves during the Reign of a King of their own; how they crope into all Places of Trust and Profit; how they insinuated [themselves] into the Favour of the King, and were at first per-ferr'd to the highest Places in the Nation; how they engroßt the Ministry, and, *above all, how pittifully they Man-ag'd*, is too plain to need any Remarks.

BUT particularly, their Mercy and Charity, the Spirit of Union, they tell us so much of, has been remarkable in *Scotland*, if any Man wou'd see the Spirit of a Dissenter, let him look into *Scotland*; there they made entire Conquest of the Church, trampled down the sacred Orders, and suppress't the Episcopal Government, with an absolute, and as they suppose, irretrievable Victory, tho' 'tis possible, *they may find themselves mistaken*: Now 'twould be a very proper Question to ask their *Impudent Advocate, the Observer*, Pray how much Mercy and Favour did the Members of the Episcopal Church find in *Scotland*, from the *Scotch* Presbyterian-Government; and I shall undertake for the Church of *England*, that the Dissenters shall still receive as much here, tho' they deserve but little.

In a small Treatise of the Sufferings of the Episcopal Clergy in *Scotland*, 'twill appear, what Usage they met with, how they not only lost their Livings, but in several Places, were plunder'd and abus'd in their Persons; the Ministers that cou'd not conform, turn'd out, with numerous Families, and no Maintenance, and hardly Charity enough left to relieve them with a bit of Bread; and the Cruelties of the Party are innumerable, and are not to be attempted in this short Piece.

And now to prevent the distant Cloud which they perceiv'd to hang over their Heads from *England*; with a true Presbyterian Policy, they put in for *a union of Nations*, that *England* might unite their Church with the Kirk of *Scotland*, and their Presbyterian Members sit in our House of Commons, and their Assembly of *Scotch* canting Long-Cloaks in our Convocation; what might ha' been, if our Phanatick, Whiggish-States-men continu'd, God only knows; but we hope we are out of fear of that now.

'Tis alledg'd by some of the Faction, and they began to Bully us with it; that if we won't unite with them, they will not settle the Crown with us again, but when her Majesty dies, will chuse a King for themselves.

If they won't, we must make them, and 'tis not the first time we have let them know that we are able: The Crowns of these Kingdoms have not so far disowned the right of Succession, but they may retrieve it again, and if *Scotland* thinks to come off from a Successive to an Elective State of Government, *England* has not promis'd not to assist the right Heir, and put him into possession, without any regard to their ridiculous Settlements.

THESE are the Gentlemen, these their ways of treating the Church, both at home and abroad. Now let us examine the Reasons they pretend to give why we shou'd

be favourable to them, why we should continue and tollerate them among us.

First. THEY are very Numerous, they say, they are a great Part of the Nation, and we cannot suppress them.

To this may be answer'd, 1. THEY are not so Numerous as the Protestants in *France*, and yet the *French* King effectually clear'd the Nation of them at once, and we don't find he misses them at home.

But I am not of the Opinion they are so Numerous as is pretended; their Party is more Numerous than their Persons, and those mistaken People of the Church, who are misled and deluded by their wheedling Artifices, to join with them, make their Party the greater: but those will open their Eyes, when the Government shall set heartily about the work, and come off from them, as some Animals, which they say, always desert a House when 'tis likely to fall.

2^{dly}. The more Numerous, the more Dangerous, and therefore the more need to suppress them; and God has suffer'd us to bear them as Goats in our sides, for not utterly extinguishing them long ago.

3^{dly}. If we are to allow them, only because we cannot suppress them, then it ought to be tryed whether we can or no; and I am of Opinion 'tis easy to be done, and cou'd prescribe Ways and Means, if it were proper, but I doubt not but the Government will find effectual Methods for the rooting the Contagion from the Face of this Land.

ANOTHER Argument they use, which is this, That 'tis a time of War, and we have need to unite against the common Enemy.

We answer, this common Enemy had been no Enemy, if they had not made him so; he was quiet, in peace, and no way disturb'd, or encroach'd upon us, and we know no reason we had to quarrel with them.

But further, We make no question but we are able to deal with this common Enemy without their help; but why must we unite with them because of the Enemy, will they go over to the Enemy, if we do not prevent it by a union with them—We are very well contented they shou'd; and make no question, we shall be ready to deal with them and the common Enemy too, and better without them than with them.

Besides, if we have a common Enemy, there is the more need to be secure against our private Enemies; if there is one common Enemy, we have the less need to have an Enemy in our Bowels.

'Twas a great Argument some People used against suppressing the Old-Money, that 'twas a time of War, and was too great a Risque for the Nation to run, if we shou'd not master it, we shou'd be undone; and yet the Sequel prov'd the Hazard was not so great, but it might be mastered; and the Success was answerable. The suppressing the Dissenters is not a harder Work, nor a Work of less necessity to the Publick; we can never enjoy a settled uninterrupted Union and Tranquility in this Nation, till the Spirit of Whiggism, Faction, and Schism is melted down like the Old-Money

To talk of the Difficulty, is to Frighten our selves with Chimæras and Notions of a Powerful Party, which are indeed a Party without Power; Difficulties often appear greater at a distance, than when they are search'd into with Judgment, and distinguish'd from the Vapours and Shadows that attend them.

We are not to be frightned with it; this Age is wiser than that, by all our own Experience, *and theirs too*; King *Charles* the First, had early suppress'd this Party, if he had took more deliberate Measures. In short, 'tis not worth arguing, to talk of their Arms, their *Monmouths*, and *Shaftsburys*, and *Argiles* are gone, their *Dutch-Sanctuary* is at an end, Heaven has made way for their Destruction, and if we do not close with the Divine occasion, we are to blame our selves, and may [hereafter] remember that we had once an opportunity to serve the Church of *England*, by extirpating her implacable Enemies, and having let slip the Minute that Heaven presented, may experimentally Complain, *Post est Occasio Calvo*.

Here are some popular Objections in the way.

As first, THE QUEEN has promis'd them, to continue them in their tollerated Liberty; and has told us she will be a religious Observer of her Word.

W H A T her Majesty will do we cannot help, but what, as the Head of the Church, she ought to do, is another Case: Her Majesty has promised to Protect and Defend the Church of *England*, and if she cannot effectually do that without the Destruction of the Dissenters, she must of course dispence with one Promise to comply with another. But to answer *this Cavil more effectually*: Her Majesty did never promise to maintain the Tolleration, to the Destruction of the Church; but it is upon supposition that it may be compatible with the well being and safety of the Church, which she had declar'd she would take especial Care of: Now if these two Interests clash, 'tis plain her Majesties Intentions are to Uphold, Protect, Defend,

and Establish the Church, and this we conceive is impossible.

Perhaps it may be said, T H A T the Church is in no immediate danger from the Dissenters, and therefore 'tis time enough: But this is a weak answer.

For first. If a Danger be real, the Distance of it is no Argument against, but rather a Spur to quicken us to prevention, lest it be too late hereafter.

And 2ndly, Here is the Opportunity, and the only one perhaps that ever the Church had to secure her self, and destroy her Enemies.

The Representatives of the Nation have now an Opportunity, the Time is come which all good Men ha' wish'd for, that the Gentlemen of *England* may serve the Church of *England*; now they are protected and encouraged by a Church of *England* Queen.

What will you do for your Sister in the Day that she shall be spoken for.

If ever you will establish the best Christian Church in the World.

If ever you will suppress the Spirit of Enthusiasm.

If ever you will free the Nation from the viperous Brood that have so long suck'd the Blood of their Mother.

If [ever] you will leave your Posterity free from Faction and Rebellion, this is the time.

This is the time to pull up this heretical Weed of Sedition, that has so long disturb'd the Peace of the Church, and poisoned the good Corn.

B U T , says another Hot and Cold Objector, this is renewing Fire and Faggot, reviving the Act *De*

Heret. Comburendo: This will be Cruelty in its Nature, and Barbarous to all the World.

I answer, 'TIS Cruelty to kill a Snake or a Toad in cold Blood, but the Poyson of their Nature makes it a Charity to our Neighbours, to destroy those Creatures, not for any personal Injury receiv'd, but for prevention; not for the Evil they have done, but the Evil they may do.

Serpents, Toads, Vipers, &c., are noxious to the Body, and poison the sensative Life; these poyson the Soul, corrupt our Posterity, ensnare our Children, destroy the Vitals of our Happyness, our future Felicity, and contaminate the whole Mass!

Shall any Law be given to such wild Creatures? Some Beasts are for Sport, and the Huntsmen give them advantages of Ground, but some are knockt on the Head by all possible ways of Violence and Surprize.

I do not prescribe Fire and Faggot; but as *Scipio* said of *Carthage*, *Delenda est Carthago*, they are to be rooted out of this Nation, if ever we will live in Peace, serve God, or enjoy our Own; as for the Manner, I leave it to those Hands, who have a Right to execute God's Justice on the Nation's and the Church's Enemies.

BUT if we must be frightened from this Justice, under the specious Pretences, and odious Terms of Cruelty, nothing will be effected: 'Twill be more Barbarous and Cruel to our own children, and dear Posterity, when they shall reproach their Fathers, as we do ours, and tell us, "You had an Opportunity to root out this cursed Race from the World, under the Favour and Protection of a True Church of *England* Queen; and out of your foolish Pity you spar'd them, because, forsooth, you would not

be Cruel, and now our Church is suppress and persecuted, our Religion trampled under Foot, our Estates plundered, our Persons imprisoned and dragg'd to Jails, Gibbets, and Scaffolds; your sparing this *Amalakite* Race is our Destruction, your Mercy to them proves Cruelty to your poor Posterity."

HOW just will such Reflections be, when our Posterity shall fall under the merciless Clutches of this uncharitable Generation, when our Church shall be swallow'd up in Schism, Faction, Enthusiasme, and Confusion; when our Government shall be devolv'd upon Foreigners, and our Monarchy dwindled into a Republick.

'Twould be more rational for us, if we must spare this Generation, to summon our own to a general Massacre, and as we have brought them into the World Free, send them out so, and not betray them to Destruction by our supine negligence, and then cry *it is Mercy*.

Moses was a merciful meek Man, and yet with what Fury did he run thro' the Camp, and cut the Throats of Three and thirty thousand of his dear *Israelites*, that were fallen into Idolatry; what was the reason? 'twas Mercy to the rest, to make these be Examples, to prevent the Destruction of the whole Army.

How many Millions of future Souls we save from Infection and Delusion, if the present Race of poison'd Spirits were purg'd from the Face of the Land.

'Tis vain to trifle in this matter, the light foolish handling of them by Mulcts, Fines, &c.; 'tis their Glory and their Advantage; if the Gallows instead of the Counter, and the Galleys instead of the Fines, were the Reward of going to a Conventicle, to preach or hear, there

wou'd not be so many Sufferers, the Spirit of Martyrdom is over; they that will go to Church to be chosen Sheriffs and Mayors, would go to forty Churches rather than be Hang'd.

If one severe Law were made, and punctually executed, that who ever was found at a Conventicle, shou'd be Banished the Nation, and the Preacher be Hang'd, we shou'd soon see an end of the Tale, they would all come to Church and one Age wou'd make us all One again.

To talk of 5s. a Month for not coming to the Sacrament, and 1s. per Week for not coming to Church, this is such a way of converting People as never was known, this is selling them a Liberty to transgress for so much Money: If it be not a Crime, why don't we give them full Licence? And if it be, no Price ought to compound for the committing it, for that is selling a Liberty to People to sin against God and the Government.

If it be a Crime of the highest Consequence, both against the Peace and Welfare of the Nation, the Glory of God, the Good of the Church, and the Happyness of the Soul, let us rank it among capital Offences, and let it receive a Punishment in proportion to it.

We Hang Men for Trifles, and Banish them for things not worth naming, but that an Offence against God and the Church, against the Welfare of the World, and the Dignity of Religion, shall be bought off for 5s. this is such a shame to a Christian Government, that 'tis with regret I transmit it to Posterity.

IF Men sin against God, affront his Ordinances, rebell against his Church, and disobey the Precepts of their Superiors, let them suffer, as such capital Crimes deserve,

so will Religion flourish, and this divided Nation be once again united.

And yet the Title of Barbarous and Cruel will soon be taken off from this Law too. I am not supposing that all the Dissenters in *England* shou'd be Hang'd or Banish'd, but as in cases of Rebellions and Insurrections, if a few of the Ring-leaders suffer, the Multitude are dismiss'd, so a few obstinate People being made Examples, there's no doubt but the Severity of the Law would find a stop in the Compliance of the Multitude.

To make the reasonableness of this matter out of question, and more unanswerably plain, let us examine for what it is that this Nation is divided into Parties and Factions, and let us see how they can justify a Separation, or we of the Church of *England* can justify our bearing the Insults and Inconveniences of the Party.

ONE of their leading Pastors, and a Man of as much Learning as most among them, in his Answer to a Pamphlet entituled *An Enquiry into the Occasional Conformity*, hath these Words, p. 27: *Do the Religion of the Church and the Meeting-houses make two Religions? Wherein do they differ? The Substance of the same Religion is common to them both; and the Modes and Accidents are the things in which only they differ. P. 28: Thirty nine Articles are given us for the summary of our Religion, Thirty six contain the Substance of it, wherein we agree; Three, the additional Appendices, about which we have some differences.*

Now, if as by their own acknowledgement, the Church of *England* is a true Church, and the Difference between them is only in a few *Modes and Accidents*, Why shou'd we expect that they will suffer Gallows and Gallies, corporeal Punishment and Banishment for these Trifles; there is

no question but they will be wiser; even their own Principles won't bear them out in it, they will certainly comply with the Laws, and with Reason, and tho' at the first, Severity may seem hard, the next Age will feel nothing of it; the Contagion will be rooted out; the Disease being cur'd, there will be no need of the Operation, but if they should venture to transgress, and fall into the Pit, all the World must condemn their Obstinacy, as being without Ground from their own Principles.

Thus the pretence of Cruelty will be taken off, and the Party actually suppress'd, and the Disquiets they have so often brought upon the Nation, prevented.

THEIR Numbers, and their Wealth, makes them Haughty, and that tis so far from being an Argument to perswade us to forbear them, that 'tis a Warning to us, without any more delay, to reconcile them to the Unity of the Church, or remove them from us.

AT present, Heaven be prais'd, they are not so Formidable as they have been, and 'tis our own fault if ever we suffer them to be so; Providence, and the Church of *England*, seems to join in this particular, that now the Destroyers of the Nations Peace may be overturn'd, and to this end the present Opportunity seems to be put into our Hands.

To this end her present Majesty seems reserv'd to enjoy the Crown, that the Ecclesiastick as well as Civil Rights of the Nation may be restor'd by her Hand.

To this end the Face of Affairs have receiv'd such a Turn in the process of a few Months, as never has been before; the leading Men of the Nation, the universal Cry of the People, the unanimous Request of the Clergy,

agree in this, that the Deliverance of our Church is at hand.

For this end has Providence given us such a Parliament, such a Convocation, such a Gentry, and such a Queen as we never had before.

AND what may be the Consequences of a Neglect of such Opportunities? The Succession of the Crown has but a dark Prospect, another *Dutch* Turn may make the Hopes of it ridiculous, and the Practice impossible: Be the House of our future Princes ever so well inclin'd, they will be Foreigners; and many Years will be spent in suiting the Genius of Strangers to the Crown, and to the Interests of the Nation; and how many Ages it may be before the *English* Throne be fill'd with so much Zeal and Candour, so much Tenderness, and hearty Affection to the Church, as we see it now cover'd with, who can imagine.

'Tis high time then for the Friends of the Church of *England*, to think of Building up, and Establishing her, in such a manner, that she may be no more Invaded by Foreigners, nor Divided by Factions, Schisms, and Error.

IF this cou'd be done by gentle and easy Methods, I shou'd be glad, but the Wound is coroded, the Vitals begin to mortifie, and nothing but Amputation of Members can compleat the Cure; all the ways of Tenderness and Compassion, all perswasive Arguments have been made use of in vain.

THE Humour of the Dissenters has so encreas'd among the People, that they hold the Church in Defiance,

and the House of God is an Abomination among them: Nay, they have brought up their Posterity in such prepossest Aversions to our Holy Religion, that the ignorant Mob think we are all Idolaters, and Worshippers of *Baal*; and account it a Sin to come within the Walls of our Churches.

The primitive Christians were not more shie of a Heathen-Temple, or of Meat offer'd to Idols, nor the *Jews* of Swine's-Flesh, than some of our Dissenters are of the Church, and the *Divine Service* solemnized therein.

THIS Obstinacy must be rooted out with the Profession of it, while the Generation are left at liberty daily to affront God Almighty, and Dishonour his Holy Worship, we are wanting in our Duty to God, and our Mother the Church of *England*.

How can we answer it to God, to the Church, and to our Posterity, to leave them entangled with Fanaticisme, Error, and Obstinacy, in the Bowels of the Nation; to leave them an Enemy in their Streets, that in time may involve them in the same Crimes, and endanger the utter Extirpation of Religion in the Nation!

WHAT's the Difference betwixt this, and being subjected to the Power of the Church of *Rome*, from whence we have reform'd? If one be an extreme on one Hand, and one on another, 'tis equally destructive to the Truth, to have Errors settled among us, let them be of what Nature they will.

Both are Enemies of our Church, and of our Peace, and why shou'd it not be as criminal to admit an Enthusiast as a Jesuit? Why shou'd the *Papist* with his Seven Sacraments be worse than the *Quaker* with no Sacraments at all? Why should Religious-houses be more intollerable

than Meeting-Houses.—*Alas the Church of England!* What with Popery on one Hand, and Schismatics on the other; how has she been Crucify'd between two Thieves.

Now, *let us Crucifie the Thieves.* Let her Foundations be establish'd upon the Destruction of her Enemies: The Doors of Mercy being always open to the returning Part of the deluded People: let the Obstinate be rul'd with the Rod of Iron.

Let all true Sons of so Holy an Oppressed Mother, exasperated by her Afflictions, harden their Hearts against those who have oppress'd her.

And may God Almighty put it into the Hearts of all the Friends of Truth, to lift up a Standard against Pride and Antichrist, that the Posterity of the Sons of Error may be rooted out from the Face of this Land for ever.

FINIS

A HYMN
to the PILLORY

LONDON :
Printed in the year, MDCCIII

At the Sessions in the Old Bailey, on July 7, 8, and 9, 1703, Defoe, 'a supposed Dissenter, sometime a Hosier in Cornell,' pleaded guilty to an indictment for the writing and publishing of THE SHORTEST WAY WITH THE DISSENTERS, and was sentenced to pay a fine of 200 Marks, to stand three times in the Pillory, and to be imprisoned during the Queen's pleasure. It was during his confinement in Newgate, and before his exposal in the pillory, that his famous satire, A HYMN TO THE PILLORY, was written, and it was published on July 29, this being the same day on which he was made a public spectacle to the people, before the Royal Exchange, in Cornhill.

It is not surprising that the text of the first edition of this satire (4to, title, and pages 24) composed and published under such difficult circumstances, is far from correct. In the preparation of the present text, six early editions have been consulted, but the basis is that of the third edition, which was afterwards carefully reprinted in the second volume of Defoe's Collected Writings, 1705.

A HYMN to the PILLORY

Hail! *Hi'roglyphick State Machin,*
Contriv'd to Punish Fancy in:
Men that are Men, in thee can feel no Pain,
And all thy *Insignificant*s Disdain.
Contempt, that false New Word for shame,
Is without Crime, an empty Name.
A Shadow to Amuse Mankind,
But never frights the Wise or Well-fix'd Mind:
Virtue despises Humane Scorn,
And Scandals Innocence adorn.

Exalted on thy *Stool of State,*
What Prospect do I see of Sov'reign Fate;
How th' *Inscrutables* of Providence,
Differ from our contracted Sence;
Here by the Errors of the Town,
The Fools look out, the Knaves look on.
Persons or Crimes find here the same respect,
And Vice does Vertue oft Correct,
The undistinguish'd Fury of the Street,
With Mob and Malice Mankind Greet:
No Byass can the Rabble draw
But *Dirt* throws *Dirt* without respect to Merit, or to Law!

Sometimes the *Air of Scandal* to maintain,
Villains look from thy Lofty Loops in Vain:
But who can judge of Crimes by Punishment,
Where Parties Rule, and L[aw]'s Subservient.
Justice with Change of Int'rest Learns to bow;
And what was Merit once, is Murther now:

Actions receive their Tincture from the Times,
And as they change are Vertues made or Crimes.

Thou art the *State-Trap* of the Law,
But neither canst keep Knaves, nor Honest Men in Awe:
These are too hard'nd in Offence,
And those upheld by Innocence.

How have thy opening Vacancys receiv'd,
In every Age the Criminals of State?
And how has Mankind been deceiv'd,
When they distinguish Crimes by Fate?
Tell us, *Great Engine*, how to understand,
Or reconcile the Justice of the Land;
How *Bastwick*, *Pryn*, *Hunt*, *Hollingsby*, and *Pye*,
Men of unspotted Honesty;
Men that had Learning, Wit, and Sence,
And more than most Men have had since,
Could equal Title to thee claim,
With *Oats* and *Fuller*, Men of later Fame:
Even the Learned *Selden* saw,
A Prospect of thee, thro' the Law:
He had thy *Lofty Pinnacles* in view,
But so much Honour never was thy due:
Had the Great *Selden* Triumph'd on thy Stage,
Selden the Honour of his Age;
No man wou'd ever shun thee more,
Or grudge to stand where *Selden* stood before.

Thou art no shame to Truth and Honesty,
Nor is the Character of such defac'd by thee,
Who suffer by Oppressive Injury.
Shame, like the Exhalations of the Sun,

}

Falls back where first the motion was begun:
 And he who for no Crime shall on thy Brows appear,
 Bears less Reproach than they who plac'd 'em there.

But if Contempt is on thy Face entail'd,
 Disgrace it self shall be asham'd;
 Scandal shall blush that it has not prevail'd
 To blast the Man it has defam'd.
 Let all that merit equal Punishment,
 Stand there with him, and we are all Content.

There would the Fam'd *S[achevere]* stand, }
 With Trumpet of Sedition in his Hand,
 Sounding the first *Crusado* in the Land. }
 He from a Church of *England* Pulpit first
 All his Dissenting Brethren Curst;
 Doom'd them to Satan for a Prey,
 And first found out *the shortest way*;
 With him the Wise Vice-Chancellor o' th' Press,
 Who, tho' our Printers Licences defy,
 Willing to show his forwardness,
 Bless'd it with his Authority;
 He gave the Churches Sanction to the Work,
 As *Popes* bless Colours for Troops which fight the *Turk*.
 Doctors in scandall these are grown,
 For *Red-hot Zeal* and Furious Learning known:
 Professors in Reproach and highly fit,
 For *Juno's Academy*, *Billingsgate*.
 Thou like a True Born *English* Tool, }
 Hast from their Composition stole, }
 And now art like to smart for being a Fool:
 And as of *English* Men, 'twas always meant,
 They'r better to Improve than to Invent;

Upon their Model thou hast made
A Monster makes the World afraid.

With them let all the States-men stand,
Who Guide us with unsteady hand:
Who Armies, Fleet, and Men betray
And Ruine all *the shortest way*.

Let all those Souldiers stand in sight,
Who're Willing to be paid and not to fight.
Agents, and Collonels, who false Musters bring,
To Cheat their Country first, and then their King:
Bring all your *Coward Captains* of the Fleet;
Lord! what a Crow'd will there be when they meet?

They who let *Pointi* 'scape to *Brest*,
With all the Gods of *Carthagera* Blest.

Those who betray'd our *Turkey* Fleet;
Or Injur'd *Talmash* Sold at *Camaret*.

Who miss'd the Squadron from *Thouloon*,
And always came too late or else too soon;
All these are Heroes whose great Actions Claim,
Immortal Honours to their Dying Fame;

And ought not to have been Denied
On thy *great Counterscarp* to have their Valour try'd.

Why have not these upon thy *spreading Stage*,
Tasted the keener Justice of the Age;
If 'tis because their Crimes are to[o] remote,
Whom leaden-footed Justice has forgot?

Let's view the modern Scenes of Fame;
If Men and Management are not the same;

When Fleets go out with Money, and with Men,
Just time enough to venture home again?
Navyes prepar'd to guard th' insulted Coast,

And Convoys settl'd when Our Ships are lost.
Some Heroes lately come from Sea,
If they were paid their Due, should stand with thee;
Papers too should their Deeds relate,
To prove the justice of their Fate.
Their Deeds of War at *Port Saint Mary's* done,
And set the Trophy's by them, which they won:
Let *Or[mon]d's* Declaration there appear,
He'd certainly be pleas'd to see 'em there.
Let some good Limner represent
The ravish'd Nuns, the plunder'd Town,
The *English* Honour how mispent;
The shameful coming back, and little done.

The *Vigo* Men should next appear
To Triumph on *thy Theater*;
They, who on board the Great Galoons had been,
Who rob'd the *Spaniards* first, and then the Queen:
Set up the praises to their Valour due;
How Eighty Sail, had beaten Twenty two.
Two Troopers so, and one Dragoon
Conquer'd a *Spanish* Boy, at *Pampalone*.
Yet let them *Or[mon]d's* Conduct own!
Who beat them first on Shore, or little had been done:
What unknown spoils from thence are come,
How much was brought away, *How little home*.
If all the Thieves should on *thy Scaffold* stand
Who rob'd their Masters in Command:
The Multitude would soon outdo
The City Crouds of *Lord Mayor Show*.

Upon thy *Penitential stools*,
Some People should be plac'd for Fools:

As some for Instance who while they look on;
See others plunder all, and they get none.

Next the Lieutenant General,
To get the Devill, lost the De'll and all;
And he some little badge should bear,
Who ought, in Justice to have hang'd 'em there:
This had his Honour more maintain'd
Than all the Spoils at *Vigo* gain'd.

Then Clap *thy Wooden Wings* for Joy,
And greet the Men of Great Employ;
The Authors of the Nations discontent,
And Scandal of a Christian Government.
Jobbers, and *Brokers* of the City Stocks,
With forty Thousand Tallies at their backs;
Who make our Banks and Companies obey,
Or sink 'em all *the shortest way*.

Th' Intrinsic Value of our Stocks,
Is stated in their Calculating Books;
Th' Imaginary Prizes rise and fall,
As they Command who toss the Ball;
Let 'em upon thy lofty Turrets stand,
With *Bear-skins* on the back, *Debentures* in the hand,
And write in Capitals upon the Post,
That here they should remain
Till this *Ænigma* they explain,
How Stocks should Fall, when Sales surmount the Cost,
And rise again when Ships are lost.

Great *Monster of the Law*, Exalt thy Head;
Appear no more in Masquerade,
In Homely Phrase Express thy Discontent,
And move it in th' Approaching Parliament:
Tell 'em how Paper were instead of Coin,

With Int'rest eight *per Cent.*, and Discount Nine.

Of *Irish* Transport Debts unpaid,
Bills false Endors'd, and long Accounts unmade.
And tell them all the Nation hopes to see,
They'll send the Guilty down to thee;
Rather than those who write their History.

Then bring those Justices upon thy Bench,
Who vilely break the Laws they should defend;
And upon Equity Intrench,
By Punishing the Crimes they will not Mend.

Set every vitious Magistrate,
Upon thy sumptuous Chariot of the State;
There let 'em all in Triumph ride,
Their Purple and their Scarlet laid aside.
Let no such *Bride-well* Justices Protect,
As first debauch the Whores which they correct:
Such who with Oaths and Drunk'ness sit
And punish far less Crimes than they Commit:
These certainly deserve to stand,
With Trophies of Authority in Either Hand.

Upon *thy Pulpit*, set the Drunken Priest,
Who turns the Gospel to a bawdy Jest;
Let the Fraternity Degrade him there,
Least they like him appear:

There let him, his *Memento Mori* Preach,
And by Example, not by Doctrine, Teach.

Next bring the Lewder Clergy there,
Who Preach those Sins down, which *they can't forbear*;
Those *Sons of God* who every day *Go in*,
Both to *the Daughters* and *the Wives of Men*;
There Let 'em stand to be the Nations Jest,
And save the Reputation of the rest.

A[sgi]ll who for the Gospel left the Law,
 And deep within the Clefts of Darkness saw;
 Let him be an Example made,
 Who durst the Parsons Province so Invade;
 To his new Ecclesiastick Rules,
 We owe the Knowledge that we all are Fools:
 Old *Charon* shall no more dark Souls convey,
 A[sgi]ll has found the *shortest* way:
 Vain is your funeral Pomp and Bells,
 Your Grave-stones, Monuments and Knells;
 Vain are the Trophies of the Grave,
 A[sgi]ll shall all that Foppery save;
 And to the Clergy's great Reproach,
 Shall change the *Hearse* into a *Fiery Coach*:
 What Man the Learned Riddle can receive,
 Which none can Answer, and yet none Believe;
 Let him Recorded, on *thy Lists* remain,
 Till he shall Heav'n by his own Rules obtain.

If a Poor Author has Embrac'd *thy Wood*,
 Only because he was not understood;
 They Punish Mankind but by halves,
 Till they stand there,
 Who false to their own Principles appear;
 And cannot understand themselves.
 Those *Nimshites*, who with furious Zeal drive on
 And build up *Rome* to pull down *Babylon*,
 The real Authors of *the Shortest Way*,
 Who for Destruction, not Conversion pray:
 There let those Sons of Strife remain,
 Till this Church Riddle they Explain;
 How at Dissenters they can raise a Storm,
 But would not have them all Conform;

For *there* their certain Ruine would come in,
 And Moderation, *which they hate*, begin.
 [Some Church-men Next should Grace thy Pews,
 Who Talk of Loyalty they never use:
 Passive Obedience well becomes thy Stage,
 For both have been the Banter of the Age.
 Get them but Once within thy Reach,
 Thou'lt make them practice, what they us'd to Teach.]

Next bring some Lawyers to *thy Bar*,
 By *Inuendo* they might all stand there;
 There let them Expiate that Guilt,
 And Pay for all that Blood their Tongues ha' spilt;
 These are the Mountebanks of State.
 Who *by the slight of Tongue* can Crimes create,
 And dress up Trifles in the *Robes of Fate*.
 The *Mastives* of a Government,
 To *worry* and run down the Innocent;
 [The Engines of Infernall Wit
 Cover'd with Cunning and Deceit!
Satan's Sublimeſt Attribute they use;
 For firſt they Tempt, and then Accuse;
 No Vows or Promises can bind their hands:
 Submissive Law Obedient ſtands,
 When Power concurrs, and Lawless Force ſtands by;
 He's Lunatick that Looks for Honesty.]

There Sat a Man of Mighty Fame,
 Whose Actions ſpeak him plainer than his Name;
 In vain he ſtruggl'd, he harangu'd in vain
 To bring in *Whipping Sentences* again:
 And to debauch a Milder Government
 With *Abdicated kinds of Punishment*.

No wonder he should Law despise,
 Who *Jesus Christ* himself denies;
 His Actions only now direct,
 What we when he is made a Judge, expect:
 Set *L[ove]*ll next to this Disgrace
 With *Whitney's Horses* staring in his Face;
 There let his Cup of Pennance be kept full,
 Till he's less Noisy, Insolent and Dull.

When all these Heroes have past o'er thy Stage,
 And thou hast been the Satyr of the Age;
 Wait then a while for all those Sons of Fame,
 Whom present Pow'r has made too great to name:
 Fenc'd from thy hands, they keep our Verse in Awe,
 Too great for Satyr, and too great for Law.
 As they their Commands lay down,
 They all shall pay their Homage to thy *Cloudy Throne*:
 And till within thy reach they be,
 Exalt them in Effigie.

The Martyr of the by-past Reign,
 For whom new Oaths have been prepar'd in vain;
*She[rloc]*k's Disciple first by him trepan'd
 He for a K[nave], and they for F[ool]s should stand.
 Tho' some affirm he ought to be Excus'd,
 Since to this Day he had refus'd;
 And this was all the Frailty of his Life,
 He Damn'd his Conscience, to oblige his Wife.
 But spare that Priest, whose tottering Conscience knew
 That if he took but one, he'd Perjure two:
 Bluntly resolv'd he wou'd not break 'em both,
 And Swore by G—d he'd never take the Oath;
 Hang him, he can't be fit for thee,

For his *unusual Honesty*.

Thou *Speaking Trumpet* of Mens Fame,
Enter in every Court thy Claim;
Demand 'em all, for they are all thy own,
Who Swear to Three Kings, but are true to none.

Turn-Coats of all sides are thy due,
And he who once is false, is never true:
To Day can Swear, to Morrow can Abjure,
For Treachery's a Crime no Man can Cure:
Such without scruple, for the time to come,
May Swear to all the Kings in Christendom:
But he's a Mad Man will rely
Upon their lost Fidelity.

They that in vast Employments rob the State,
See them in *thy Embraces* meet their Fate;
Let not the Millions they by Fraud obtain
Protect 'em from the Scandal, or the Pain:

They who from Mean Beginnings grow
To vast Estates, but *God knows how*;
Who carry untold Summs away,
From little Places, with but little Pay:
Who Costly Palaces Erect,

The Thieves that built them to Protect;
The *Gardens, Grottos, Fountains, Walks, and Groves*
Where Vice Triumphs in Pride, and Lawless Loves:
Where mighty Luxury and Drunk'ness Reign'd
Profusely Spend what they Prophanely Gain'd:
Tell 'em there's *Mene Tekel's* on the Wall,
Tell 'em the *Nation's Money* paid for all:

Advance *thy double Front* and show,
And let us both the Crimes and Persons know:

Place them aloft upon *thy Throne*,
 Who slight the Nation's Business for their own;
 Neglect their Posts, in spite of Double Pay,
 And run us all in Debt *the Shortest Way*.

Great Pageant, Change thy Dirty Scene,
 For on thy Steps some Ladies may be seen;
 When Beauty stoops upon thy Stage to show
 She laughs at all the Humble Fools below.

Set *Sapho* there, whose Husband paid for Clothes
 Two Hundred Pounds a Week in *Furbulo's*:
 There in her Silks and Scarlets let her shine,
She's Beauteous all without, all Whore within.

Next let Gay *URANIA* Ride,
 Her Coach and Six attending by her side:
 Long has she waited, but in vain,
 The City Homage to obtain:
 The Sumptuous Harlot long'd t'Insult the *Chair*,
 And Triumph o'er our City Beauties there.
 Here let her Haughty Thoughts be Gratifi'd
 In Triumph let her Ride;

Let *DIADORA* next appear,
 And all that want to know her, see her there.
 What tho' she's not a *True Born English Wh—re?*
French Harlots have been here before;
 Let not the Pomp nor Grandeur of her State
 Prevent the Justice of her Fate,
 But let her an Example now be made
 To Foreign *Wh—s* who spoil the English Trade.

[Let *FLETTUMACY* with his Pompous Train,
Attempt to rescue her in vain;
Content at last to see her shown,
Let him despise her Wit, and find his own.
Tho' his Inheritance of Brains was small,
Dear-bought Experience will Instruct us all]

Claim 'em, thou *Herald of Reproach*,
Who with uncommon Lewdness will Debauch;
Let C—— upon thy Borders spend his Life,
'Till he recants the Bargain with his Wife:
And till this Riddle both Explain,
How neither can themselves Contain;
How Nature can on both sides run so high,
As neither side can neither side supply:
And so in Charity agree
He keeps two Brace of Whores, two Stallions She.

What need of *Satyr* to Reform the Town?
Or Laws to keep our Vices down?
Let 'em to *Thee* due Homage pay,
This will Reform us all *the Shortest Way*.
Let 'em to *thee* bring all the Knaves and Fools,
Vertue will guide the rest by Rules;
They'll need no Treacherous Friends, no breach of
Faith,
No Hir'd Evidence with their Infecting Breath;
No Servants Masters to Betray,
Or Knights o' th' Post, who Swear for Pay;
No injur'd Author'll on thy Steps appear,
Nor such as *wou'd be Rogues*, but such *as are*.

The first Intent of Laws
Was to Correct th' Effect, and check the Cause;
And all the Ends of Punishment,
Were only Future Mischiefs to prevent.
But Justice is Inverted when
Those Engines of the Law,
Instead of pinching Vicious Men,
Keep Honest ones in awe;
Thy Business is, as all Men know,
To Punish Villains, not to make Men so.

When ever then thou art prepar'd
To prompt that Vice thou should'st Reward,
And by the Terrors of thy *Grisly Face*,
Make Men turn Rogues to shun Disgrace;
The end of thy Creation is destroy'd,
Justice expires of Course, and Law's made void.

What are thy Terrors? that for fear of thee,
Mankind should dare to sink their Honesty?
He's Bold to Impudence, that dare turn Knave,
The Scandal of thy Company to save:
He that will Crimes he never knew confess,
Does more than if he know those Crimes transgress:
And he that fears thee more than to be base,
May want a *Heart*, but does not want a *Face*.

Thou like the Devil dost appear,
Blacker than really thou art by far:
A wild Chimerick Notion of Reproach,
Too little for a Crime, for none too much:
Let none th' Indignity resent;
For Crime is all the shame of Punishment.

Thou *Bug-bear* of the Law stand up and speak,
Thy long Misconstru'd Silence break,
Tell us who 'tis upon *thy Ridge* stands there,
So full of Fault, and yet so void of Fear;
And from the Paper in his Hat,
Let all Mankind be told for what:

Tell them 'twas because he was too bold,
And told those Truths, which shou'd notha' been told.
Extoll the Justice of the Land,
Who Punish what they will not understand.
Tell them he stands Exalted there
For speaking what we wou'd not hear;
And yet he might ha' been secure,
Had he said less, or wou'd he ha' said more.
Tell them that this is his Reward,
And worse is yet for him prepar'd,
Because his Foolish Vertue was so nice
As not to sell his Friends, according to his Friends
Advice;

And thus he's an Example made,
To make Men of their Honesty afraid,
That for the time to come they may,
More willingly their Friends betray;
Tell 'em the M[en] that plac'd him here,
Are Sc[anda]ls to the Times,
Are at a loss to find his Guilt,
And can't Commit his Crimes.

FINIS

Giving Alms no Charity
And Employing the POOR
A Grievance to the
NATION, Being an ESSAY
Upon this
GREAT QUESTION

Whether Work-houses, Corporations, and Houses of Correction for Employing the Poor, as now practis'd in *England*; or Parish-Stocks, as propos'd in a late Pamphlet, Entituled, *A Bill for the better Relief, Employment and Settlement of the Poor*, &c. Are not mischievous to the Nation, tending to the Destruction of our Trade, and to Encrease the Number and Misery of the Poor.

Addressed to the Parliament of England.

LONDON:
Printed, and Sold by the Booksellers of *London*
and *Westminster*. MDCCIV.

Defoe's tract entitled *GIVING ALMS NO CHARITY* was first published on November 18th, 1704 (4to, pages 28), and is one of the scarcest, as well as one of the most notable of the minor writings of Defoe.

It was written in opposition to a Bill introduced into Parliament by Sir Humphrey Mackworth for the employment of the poor, by establishing in every parish a parochial manufactory, and to authorize the levy of a parochial rate for the carrying on of the same. The Bill passed through the House of Commons, but was ultimately thrown out by the Lords, as incompatible with the interests of the nation. Lord Overstone in the Introduction to 'A Select Collection of Scarce and Valuable Economical Tracts, London, 1859' is of the opinion that this tract of Defoe's, which he there reprints, was highly instrumental in stopping the progress of the Bill; but like McCulloch, in his 'Literature of Political Economy,' he admits that Defoe's arguments are far from conclusive. Much of the material of this pamphlet was used later by Defoe in writing 'A Plan of the English Commerce,' 1728, which treatise is also published in this present edition of his writings.

The tract is here reprinted from the rare first edition, and except a slight modification of the punctuation in a few places where the meaning was obscured, and the correction of one or two obvious printer's errors, the text has not been tampered with in any way.

To the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses in Parliament Assembled.

Gentlemen,

HE that has Truth and Justice, and the Interest of *England* in his Design, can have nothing to fear from an *English* Parliament.

This makes the Author of these Sheets, however Despicable in himself, apply to this Honourable House, without any Apology for the Presumption.

Truth, *Gentlemen*, however meanly dress'd, and in whatsoever bad Company she happens to come, was always entertain'd at your Bar; and the Commons of *England* must cease to act like themselves, or which is worse, like their Ancestors, when they cease to entertain any Proposal, that offers it self at their Door, for the general Good and Advantage of the People they Represent.

I willingly grant, That 'tis a Crime in good Manners to interrupt your more weighty Councils, and disturb your Debates; with empty nauseous Trifles in Value, or mistaken Schemes, and whoever ventures to Address You, ought to be well assur'd he is in the right, and that the Matter suits the Intent of your meeting, *viz. To dispatch the weighty Affairs of the Kingdom.*

And as I have premis'd this, so I freely submit to any Censure this Honourable Assembly shall think I deserve, if I have broke in upon either of these Particulars.

I have but one Petition to make with respect to the Author, and that is, That no freedom of Expression, which the Arguments may oblige him to, may be constru'd as a want of Respect, and a breach of the due Deference every *English* Man owes to the representing Power of the Nation.

It would be hard, that while I am honestly offering to your Consideration something of Moment for the general Good, Prejudice should lay Snares for the Author, and private Pique make him an Offender for a Word.

Without entring upon other Parts of my Character, 'tis enough to acquaint this Assembly, that I am an *English* Freeholder, and have by that a Title to be concern'd in the good of that Community of which I am an unworthy Member.

This Honourable House is the Representative of all the Freeholders of *England*; you are Assembl'd for their Good, you study their Interest, you possess their Hearts, and you hold the Strings of the general Purse.

To you they have Recourse for the Redress of all their Wrongs, and if at any time one of their Body can offer to your Assistance, any fair, legal, honest and rational Proposal for the publick Benefit, it was never known that such a Man was either rejected or discourag'd.

And on this Account I crave the Liberty to assure you, That the Author of this seeks no Reward; to him it shall always be Reward enough to have been capable of serving his native Country, and Honour enough to have offer'd something for the publick Good worthy of Consideration in your Honourable Assembly.

Pauper Ubique jacet, said our famous Queen *Elizabeth*, when in her Progress thro' the Kingdom she saw the vast Throngs of the Poor, flocking to see and bless her; and the Thought put her Majesty upon a continu'd study how to recover her People from that Poverty, and make their Labour more profitable to themselves in Particular, and the Nation in General.

This was easie then to propose, for that many useful Manufactures were made in foreign Parts, which our

People bought with *English* Money, and Imported for their use.

The Queen, who knew the Wealth and vast Numbers of People which the said Manufactures had brought to the neighbouring Countries then under the King of *Spain*, the *Dutch* being not yet Revolted, never left off endeavouring what she happily brought to pass, *viz.* the transplanting into *England* those Springs of Riches and People.

She saw the *Flemings* prodigiously Numerous, their Cities stood thicker than her Peoples Villages in some parts; all sorts of useful Manufactures were found in their Towns, and all their People were rich and busie, no Beggars, no Idleness, and consequently no want was to be seen among them.

She saw the Fountain of all this Wealth and Workmanship, I mean the Wool, was in her own Hands, and *Flanders* became the Seat of all these Manufactures, not because it was naturally Richer and more Populous than other Countries, but because it lay near *England*, and the Staple of the *English* Wool which was the Foundation of all their Wealth, was at *Antwerp* in the Heart of that Country.

From hence, it may be said of *Flanders*, it was not the Riches and the number of People brought the Manufactures into the *Low Countries*, but it was the Manufactures brought the People thither, and Multitudes of People make Trade, Trade makes Wealth, Wealth builds Cities, Cities Enrich the Land round them, Land Enrich'd rises in Value, and the Value of Lands Enriches the Government.

Many Projects were set on foot in *England* to Erect the Woollen Manufacturer here, and in some Places it had found Encouragement, before the Days of this

Queen, especially as to making of Cloath, but Stuffs, Bays, Says, Serges, and such like Wares were yet wholly the Work of the *Flemings*.

At last an Opportunity offer'd perfectly unlook'd for, *viz.* The Persecution of the Protestants, and introducing the *Spanish* Inquisition into *Flanders*, with the Tyranny of the Duke *D'Alva*.

It cannot be an ungrateful Observation, here to take notice how Tyranny and Persecution, the one an Oppression of Property, the other of Conscience, always Ruine Trade, Impoverish Nations, Depopulate Countries, Dethrone Princes, and Destroy Peace.

When an *English* Man reflects on it, he cannot without infinite Satisfaction look up to Heaven, and to this Honourable House, *that* as the spring, *this* as the Stream *from* and *by* which the Felicity of this Nation has obtain'd a Pitch of Glory, Superior to all the People in the World.

Your Councils especially, when blest from Heaven, *as now we trust they are*, with Principles of Unanimity and Concord, can never fail to make Trade Flourish, War Successful, Peace certain, Wealth flow'ing, Blessings probable, the Queen Glorious, and the People Happy.

Our unhappy Neighbours of the *Low Countries* were the very Reverse of what we *bless our selves for in You*.

Their Kings were Tyrants, their Governours Persecutors, their Armies Thieves and Blood-hounds.

Their People Divided, their Councils Confus'd, and their Miseries Innumerable.

D'Alva the *Spanish* Governor, Besieg'd their Cities, Decimated the Inhabitants, Murther'd their Nobility, Proscrib'd their Princes and Executed 18000 Men by the Hand of the Hang-man.

Conscience was traml'd under foot, Religion and Re-

formation hunted like a Hare upon the Mountains, the Inquisition threatned, and Foreign Armies introduc'd.

Property fell a Sacrifice to Absolute Power, the Countrey was Ravag'd, the Towns Plunder'd, the Rich Confiscated, the Poor Starv'd, Trade Interrupted, and the 10th. Penny demanded.

The Consequence of this was, *as in all Tyrannies and Persecutions it is*, the People fled and scatter'd themselves in their Neighbours Countries, Tradelanguish'd, Manufactures went abroad, and never return'd, Confusion reign'd, and Poverty succeeded.

The Multitude that remain'd, push'd to all Extremities, were forc'd to obey the Voice of Nature, and in their own just Defence to take Arms against their Governours.

Destruction it self has its uses in the World, the Ashes of one City Rebuilds another, and God Almighty, who never acts in vain, brought the Wealth of *England*, and the Power of *Holland* into the World from the Ruine of the *Flemish Liberty*.

The *Dutch* in defence of their Liberty revolted, renounc'd their Tyrant Prince, and prosper'd by Heaven and the Assistance of *England*, erected the greatest Common-wealth in the World.

Innumerable Observations would flow from this part of the present Subject, but Brevity is my study, I am not teaching; for I know who I speak to, but relating and observing the Connexion of Causes, and the wonderous Births which *lay then* in the Womb of Providence, and are since come to life.

Particularly how Heaven directed the Oppression and Tyranny of the Poor should be the Wheel to turn over the great Machine of Trade from *Flanders* into *England*.

And how the Persecution and Cruelty of the *Spaniards*

against Religion should be directed by the secret Overruling Hand, to be the Foundation of a People, and a Body that should in Ages then to come, be one of the chief Bulwarks of that very Liberty and Religion they sought to destroy.

In this general Ruine of Trade and Liberty, *England* made a Gain of what she never yet lost, and of what she has since encreas'd to an inconceivable Magnitude.

As *D'Alva* worried the poor *Flemings*, the Queen of *England* entertain'd them, cherish'd them, invited them, encourag'd them.

Thousands of innocent People fled from all Parts from the Fury of this Merciless Man, and as *England*, to her Honour has always been the Sanctuary of her distress'd Neighbours, so now she was so to her special and particular Profit.

The Queen who saw the Opportunity put into her hands which she had so long wish'd for, not only receiv'd kindly the Exil'd *Flemings*, but invited over all that wou'd come, promising them all possible Encouragement, Priviledges and Freedom of her Ports, and the like.

This brought over a vast multitude of *Flemings*, *Walloons*, and *Dutch*, who with their whole Families settled at *Norwich*, at *Ipswich*, *Colchester*, *Canterbury*, *Exeter*, and the like. From these came the *Walloon* Church at *Canterbury*, and the *Dutch* Churches *Norwich*, *Colchester* and *Yarmouth*; from hence came the True born *English* Families at those Places with Foreign Names; as the *DeVinks* at *Norwich*, the *Rebows* at *Colchester*, the *Papilons*, &c. at *Canterbury*, Families to whom this Nation are much in debt for the first planting those Manufactures, from which we have since rais'd the greatest Trades in the World.

This wise Queen knew that number of Inhabitants are the Wealth and Strength of a Nation, she was far from that Opinion, we have of late shown too much of in complaining that Foreigners came to take the Bread out of our Mouths, and ill treating on that account the *French* Protestants who fled hither for Refuge in the late Persecution.

Some have said that above 50000 of them settled here and would have made it a Grievance, tho' without doubt 'tis easie to make it appear that 500000 more would be both useful and profitable to this Nation.

Upon the settling of these Forreigners, the Scale of Trade visibly turn'd both here and in *Flanders*.

The *Flemings* taught our Women and Children to Spin, the Youth to Weave, the Men entred the Loom to labour instead of going abroad to seek their Fortunes by the War, the several Trades of *Bayes* at *Colchester*, *Sayes* and *Perpets*, at *Sudbury*, *Ipswich*, &c. *Stuffs* at *Norwich*, *Serges* at *Exeter*, *Silks* at *Canterbury*, and the like, began to flourish. All the Counties round felt the Profit, the Poor were set to Work, the Traders gain'd Wealth, and Multitudes of People flock'd to the several Parts where these Manufactures were erected for Employment, and the Growth of *England*, both in Trade, Wealth and People since that time, as it is well known to this Honourable House; so the Causes of it appear to be plainly the Introducing of these Manufactures, and nothing else.

Nor was the Gain made here by it more visible than the loss to the *Flemings*, from hence, and not as is vainly suggested from the building the *Dutch* Fort of *Lillo* on the *Scheld*, came the Decay of that flourishing City of *Antwerp*. From hence it is plain the *Flemings*, an Industrious Nation, finding their Trade ruin'd at once, turn'd their

Hands to other things, as making of *Lace*, *Linnen*, and the like, and the *Dutch* to the Sea Affairs and Fishing.

From hence they become *Poor*, thin of People, and *weak* in Trade, the Flux both of their Wealth and Trade, running wholly into *England*.

I humbly crave leave to say, this long Introduction shall not be thought useless, when I shall bring it home by the Process of these Papers to the Subject now in hand, *viz. The Providing for and Employing the Poor*.

Since the Times of *Queen Elizabeth* this Nation has gone on to a Prodigy of Trade, of which the Encrease of our Customs from 400000 Crowns to two Millions of Pounds Sterling, *per Ann.* is a Demonstration beyond the Power of Argument; and that this whole Encrease depends upon, and is principally occasion'd by the encrease of our Manufacturers is so plain, I shall not take up any room here to make it out.

Having thus given an Account how we came to be a rich, flourishing and populous Nation, I crave leave as concisely as I can to examine how we came to be Poor again, if it must be granted that we are so.

By Poor here I humbly desire to be understood, not that we are a poor Nation in general; I should undervalue the bounty of Heaven to *England*, and act with less Understanding than most Men are Masters of, if I should not own, that in general we are *as Rich a Nation* as any in the World; but by Poor I mean burthen'd with a crowd of clamouring, unemploy'd, unprovided for poor People, who make the Nation uneasie, burthen the Rich, clog our Parishes, and make themselves worthy of Laws, and peculiar Management to dispose of and direct them: how these came to be thus is the Question.

And first I humbly crave leave to lay these Heads down as fundamental Maxims, which I am ready at any time to Defend and make out.

1. *There is in England more Labour than Hands to perform it, and consequently a want of People, not of Employment.*
2. *No Man in England, of sound Limbs and Senses, can be Poor meerly for want of Work.*
3. *All our Work-houses, Corporations and Charities for employing the Poor, and setting them to Work, as now they are employ'd, or any Acts of Parliament to empower Overseers of Parishes, or Parishes themselves, to employ the Poor, except as shall be hereafter excepted, are, and will be publick Nusances, Mischiefs to the Nation which serve to the Ruin of Families, and the Encrease of the Poor.*
4. *That 'tis a Regulation of the Poor that is wanted in England, not a setting them to Work.*

If after these things are made out, I am enquir'd of what this Regulation should be, I am no more at a loss to lay it down than I am to affirm what is above; and shall always be ready, when call'd to it, to make such a Proposal to this Honourable House, as with their Concurrence shall for ever put a stop to Poverty and Beggery, Parish Charges, Assessments and the like, in this Nation.

If such offers as these shall be slighted and rejected, I have the Satisfaction of having discharg'd my Duty, and the Consequence must be, that complaining will be continued in our Streets.

'Tis my misfortune, that while I study to make every Head so concise, as becomes me in things to be brought before so Honourable and August an Assembly, I am oblig'd to be short upon Heads that in their own Nature

would very well admit of particular Volumes to explain them.

1. I affirm, *That in England there is more Labour than Hands to perform it.* This I prove,

1st. From the dearness of Wages, which in *England* out goes all Nations in the World; and *I know no greater Demonstration in Trade.* Wages, like Exchanges, Rise and Fall as the Remitters and Drawers, the Employers and the Work-men, Ballance one another.

The Employers are the Remitters, the Work-men are the Drawers, if there are more Employers than Work-men, the price of Wages must Rise, because the Employer wants that Work to be done more than the Poor Man wants to do it, if there are more Work-men than Employers the price of Labour falls, because the Poor Man wants his Wages more than the Employer wants to have his Business done.

Trade, like all Nature, most obsequiously obeys the great Law of Cause and Consequence; and this is the occasion why even all the greatest Articles of Trade follow, and as it were pay Homage to this seemingly Minute and Inconsiderable Thing, *The poor Man's Labour.*

I omit, with some pain, the many very useful Thoughts that occur on this Head, to preserve the Brevity I owe to the Dignity of that Assembly I am writing to. But I cannot but Note how from hence it appears, that the Glory, the Strength, the Riches, the Trade, and all that's valuable in a Nation, as to its Figure in the World, depends upon the Number of its People, be they never so mean or poor; the consumption of Manufactures encreases the Manufacturers; the number of Manufacturers encreases the Consumption; Provisions are consum'd to feed them, Land Improv'd, and more Hands employ'd to furnish

Provision : All the Wealth of the Nation, and all the Trade is produc'd by Numbers of People; but of this by the way.

The price of Wages not only determines the Difference between the Employer and the Work-man, but it rules the Rates of every Market. If Wages grows high, Provisions rise in Proportion, and I humbly conceive it to be a mistake in those People, who say Labour in such parts of *England* is cheap because Provisions are cheap, but 'tis plain, Provisions are cheap there because Labour is cheap, and Labour is cheaper in those Parts than in others; because being remoter from *London* there is not that extraordinary Disproportion between the Work and the Number of Hands; there are more Hands, and consequently Labour cheaper.

'Tis plain to any observing Eye, that there is an equal plenty of Provisions in several of our South and Western Counties, as in *Yorkshire*, and rather a greater, and I believe I could make it out, that a poor labouring Man may live as cheap in *Kent* or *Sussex* as in the Bishoprick of *Durham*; and yet in *Kent* a poor Man shall earn 7s. 10s. 9s. a Week, and in the North 4s. or perhaps less; the difference is plain in this, that in *Kent* there is a greater want of People, in Proportion to the Work there, than in the North.

And this on the other hand makes the People of our northern Countries spread themselves so much to the South, where Trade, War and the Sea carrying off so many, there is a greater want of Hands.

And yet 'tis plain there is Labour for the Hands which remain in the North, or else the Country would be depopulated, and the People come all away to the South to seek Work; and even in *Yorkshire*, where Labour is cheapest,

the People can gain more by their Labour than in any of the Manufacturing Countries of *Germany, Italy* or *France*, and live much better.

If there was one poor Man in *England* more than there was Work to employ, either somebody else must stand still for him, or he must be starv'd; if another Man stands still for him he wants a days Work, and goes to seek it, and by consequence supplants another, and this a third, and this Contention brings it to this; no says the poor Man, *That is like to be put out of his Work*, rather than that Man shall come in I'll do it cheaper; nay, says the other, but I'll do it cheaper than you; and thus one poor Man wanting but a Days work would bring down the price of Labour in a whole Nation, for the Man cannot starve, and will work for any thing rather than want it.

It may be Objected here, This is contradicted by our Number of Beggars.

I am sorry to say I am oblig'd here to call begging an Employment, since 'tis plain, if there is more Work than Hands to perform it, no Man that has his *Limbs* and his *Senses* need to beg, and those that *have not* ought to be put into a Condition not to want it.

So that begging is a meer scandal in the General, *in the Able* 'tis a scandal upon their Industry, and *in the Impotent* 'tis a scandal upon the Country.

Nay, the begging, as now practis'd, is a scandal upon our Charity, and perhaps the foundation of all our present Grievance——How can it be possible that any Man or Woman, who being sound in Body and Mind, may as 'tis apparent they may, have Wages for their Work, should be so base, so meanly spirited, as to beg for Alms for God-sake——Truly the scandal lies on our Charity; and People have such a Notion in *England* of being pitiful and charit-

able, that they encourage Vagrants, and by a mistaken Zeal do more harm than good.

This is a large Scene, and much might be said upon it; I shall abridge it as much as possible—. The Poverty of *England* does not lye among the craving Beggars but among poor Families, where the Children are numerous, and where Death or Sickness has depriv'd them of the Labour of the Father; these are the Houses that the Sons and Daughters of Charity, if they would order it well, should seek out and relieve; an Alms ill directed may be Charity to the particular Person, but becomes an Injury to the Publick, and no Charity to the Nation. As for the craving Poor, I am perswaded I do them no wrong when I say, that if they were Incorporated they would be the richest Society in the Nation; and the reason why so many pretend to want Work is, that they can live so well with the pretence of wanting Work, they would be mad to leave it and Work in earnest; and I affirm of my own knowledge, when I have wanted a Man for labouring work, and offer'd 9s. per Week to strouling Fellows at my Door, they have frequently told me to my Face, they could get more a begging, and I once set a lusty Fellow in the Stocks for making the Experiment.

I shall in its proper place, bring this to a Method of Tryal, since nothing but Demonstration will affect us, 'tis an easie matter to prevent begging in *England*, and yet to maintain all our Impotent Poor at far less charge to the Parishes than they now are oblig'd to be at.

When Queen *Elizabeth* had gain'd her Point as to Manufactories in England, she had fairly laid the Foundation, she thereby found out the way how every Family might live upon their own Labour, like a wise Princess she knew 'twould be hard to force People to Work when

there was nothing for them to turn their Hands to ; but as soon as she had brought the matter to bear, and there was Work for every body that had no mind to starve, then she apply'd her self to make Laws to oblige the People to do this Work, and to punish Vagrants, and make every one live by their own Labour ; all her Successors followed this laudable Example, and from hence came all those Laws against sturdy Beggars, Vagabonds, Stroulers, &c. which had they been severely put in Execution by our Magistrates, 'tis presum'd these Vagrant Poor had not so encreas'd upon us as they have.

And it seems strange to me, from what just Ground we proceed now upon other Methods, and fancy that 'tis now our Business to find them Work, and to Employ them rather than to oblige them to find themselves Work and go about it.

From this mistaken Notion come all our Work-houses and Corporations, and the same Error, with submission, I presume was the birth of this Bill now depending, which enables every Parish to erect the Woollen Manufacture within it self, for the employing their own Poor.

'Tis the mistake of this part of the Bill only which I am enquiring into, and which I endeavour to set in a true light.

In all the Parliaments since the Revolution, this Matter has been before them, and I am justified in this attempt by the House of Commons having frequently appointed Committees to receive Proposals upon this Head.

As my Proposal is General, I presume to offer it to the General Body of the House ; if I am commanded to explain any part of it, I am ready to do any thing that may be serviceable to this great and noble Design.

As the former Houses of Commons gave all possible

Encouragement to such as could offer, or but pretend to offer at this needful thing, so the imperfect Essays of several, whether for private or publick Benefit, I do not attempt to determine, which have since been made, and which have obtain'd the Powers and Conditions they have desir'd, have by all their Effects demonstrated the weakness of their Design; and that they either understood not the Disease, or know not the proper Cure for it.

The Imperfection of all these Attempts is acknowledged, not only in the Preamble of this new Act of Parliament, but even in the thing, in that there is yet occasion for any new Law.

And having survey'd, not the necessity of a new Act, but the Contents of the Act which has been propos'd as a Remedy in this Case; I cannot but offer my Objections against the Sufficiency of the Proposal, and leave it to the Consideration of this Wise Assembly, and of the whole Nation.

I humbly hope the Learned Gentlemen, under whose Direction this Law is now to proceed, and by whose Order it has been Printed, will not think himself personally concern'd in this Case, his Endeavours to promote so good a Work, as the Relief, Employment, and Settlement of the Poor merit the Thanks and Acknowledgment of the whole Nation, and no Man shall be more ready to pay his share of that Debt to him than my self. But if his Scheme happen to be something superficial, if he comes in among the number of those who have not search'd this Wound to the bottom, if the Methods propos'd are not such as will either answer his own Designs or the Nations, I cannot think my self oblig'd to dispense, with my Duty to the Publick Good, to preserve a Personal Value for his Judgment, tho' the Gentleman's Merit be extraordinary.

Wherefore, as in all the Schemes I have seen laid for the Poor, and in this Act now before your Honourable House; the general Thought of the Proposers runs upon the Employing the Poor by Work-houses, Corporations, Houses of Correction, and the like, and that I think it plain to be seen, that those Proposals come vastly short of the main Design. These Sheets are humbly laid before you, as well to make good what is alledg'd, *viz.* That all these Work-houses, &c. Tend to the Encrease, and not the Relief of the Poor, as to make an humble Tender of mean, plain, but I hope, rational Proposals for the more effectual Cure of this grand Disease.

In order to proceed to this great Challenge, I humbly desire the Bills already pass'd may be review'd, the Practice of our Corporation Work-houses, and the Contents of this proposed Act examin'd.

In all these it will appear that the Method chiefly proposed for the Employment of our Poor, is by setting them to Work on the several Manufactures before mention'd; as *Spinning, Weaving, and Manufacturing our English Wool.*

All our Work-houses, lately Erected in *England*, are in general thus Employ'd, for which without enumerating Particulars, I humbly appeal to the Knowledge of the several Members of this Honourable House in their respective Towns where such Corporations have been erected.

In the present Act now preparing, as Printed by Direction of a Member of this Honourable House, it appears, *that in order to set the Poor to Work, it shall be Lawful for the Overseers of every Town, or of one or more Towns joyn'd together to occupy any Trade, Mystery, &c. And raise Stocks for the carrying them on for the setting the Poor at Work, and*

for the purchasing Wool, Iron, Hemp, Flax, Thread, or other Materials for that Purpose. Vide the Act Publish'd by Sir Humphry Mackworth.

And that Charities given so and so, and not exceeding 200*l. per Annum* for this Purpose, shall be Incorporated of Course for these Ends.

In order now to come to the Case in hand, *it is necessary to premise*, that the thing now in debate is not the Poor of this or that particular Town. The House of Commons are acting like themselves, as they are the Representatives of all the Commons of *England*, 'tis the Care of all the Poor of *England* which lies before them, not of this or that particular Body of the Poor.

In proportion to this great Work, I am to be understood that these Work-houses, Houses of Correction, and Stocks to Employ the Poor may be granted to lessen the Poor in this or that particular part of *England*; and we are particularly told of that at *Bristol*, that it has been such a Terror to the Beggars that none of the strouling Crew will come near the City. But all this allow'd, in general, 'twill be felt in the main, and the end will be an Encrease of our Poor.

1. The Manufactures that these Gentlemen Employ the Poor upon, are all such as are before exercis'd in *England*.

2. They are all such as are manag'd to a full Extent, and the present Accidents of War and Forreign Interruption of Trade consider'd rather beyond the vent of them than under it.

Suppose now a Work-house for Employment of Poor Children, sets them to spinning of Worsted.—For every Skein of Worsted these Poor Children Spin, there must be a Skein the less Spun by some poor Family or Person

that spun it before; suppose the Manufacture of making Bays to be erected in *Bishopsgate-street*, unless the Maker of these Bays can at the same time find out a Trade or Consumption for more Bays than were made before: For every piece of Bays so made in *London* there must be a Piece the less made at *Colechester*.

I humbly appeal to the Honourable House of Commons what this may be call'd, and with submission, I think it is nothing at all to Employing the Poor, since 'tis only the transposing the Manufacture from *Colchester* to *London*, and taking the Bread out of the Mouths of the Poor of *Essex* to put it into the Mouths of the Poor of *Middlesex*.

If these worthy Gentlemen, who show themselves so commendably forward to Relieve and Employ the Poor, will find out some new Trade, some new Market, where the Goods they make shall be sold, where none of the same Goods were sold before; if they will send them to any place where they shall not interfere with the rest of that Manufacture, or with some other made in *England*, then indeed they will do something worthy of themselves, and may employ the Poor to the same glorious Advantage as Queen *Elizabeth* did, to whom this Nation, as a trading Country, owes its peculiar Greatness.

If these Gentlemen could establish a Trade to *Muscovy* for *English* Serges, or obtain an Order from the *Czar*, that all his Subjects should wear Stockings who wore none before, every poor Child's Labour in Spining and Knitting those Stockings, and all the Wool in them would be clear gain to the Nation, and the general Stock would be improved by it, because all the growth of our Country, and all the Labour of a Person who was Idle before, is so much clear Gain to the General Stock.

If they will Employ the Poor in some Manufacture which was not made in *England* before, or not bought with some Manufacture made here before, then they offer at something extraordinary.

But to set Poor People at Work, on the same thing which other poor People were employ'd on before, and at the same time not encrease the Consumption, is giving to one what you take away from another; enriching one poor Man to starve another, putting a Vagabond into an honest Man's Employment, and putting his Diligence on the Tenters to find out some other Work to maintain his Family.

As this is not at all profitable, so *with Submission for the Expression*, I cannot say 'tis honest, because 'tis transplanting and carrying the poor Peoples Lawful Employment from the Place where was their Lawful Settlement, and the hardship of this *our Law consider'd* is intolerable. For Example.

The Manufacture of making Bays is now Establish'd at *Colchester* in *Essex*, suppose it should be attempted to be Erected in *Middlesex*, as a certain Worthy and Wealthy Gentleman near *Hackney* once propos'd, it may be suppos'd if you will grant the Skill in Working the same, and the Wages the same, that they must be made cheaper in *Middlesex* than in *Essex*, and cheapness certainly will make the Merchant buy here rather than there, and so in time all the Bay making at *Colchester* Dyes, and the Staple for that Commodity is remov'd to *London*.

What must the Poor of *Colchester* do, there they buy a Parochial Settlement, those that have numerous Families cannot follow the Manufacture and come up to *London*, for our Parochial Laws Impower the Church-wardens to refuse them a Settlement, so that they are confin'd to their

own Countrey, and the Bread taken out of their Mouths, and all this to feed Vagabonds, and to set them to Work, who by their choice would be idle, and who merit the Correction of the Law.

There is another Grievance which I shall endeavour to touch at, which every Man that wishes well to the Poor does not foresee, and which, with humble Submission to the Gentlemen that contriv'd this Act, I see no notice taken of.

There are Arcanas in Trade, which though they are the Natural Consequences of Time and casual Circumstances, are yet become now so Essential to the Publick Benefit, that to alter or disorder them would be an irreparable Damage to the Publick.

I shall explain my self as concisely as I can.

The Manufactures of *England* are happily settled in different Corners of the Kingdom, from whence they are mutually convey'd by a Circulation of Trade to *London* by Wholesale, like the Blood to the Heart, and from thence disperse in lesser quantities to the other parts of the Kingdom by Retail. For Example.

Serges are made at *Exeter*, *Taunton*, &c. Stuffs at *Norwich*; *Bays*, *Sayes*, *Shaloons*, &c. at *Colchester*, *Bocking*, *Sudbury*, and Parts adjacent, Fine Cloath in *Somerset*, *Wilts*, *Gloucester*, and *Worcestershire*, Course Cloath in *Yorkshire*, *Kent*, *Surry*, &c. Druggets at *Farnham*, *Newbury*, &c. All these send up the Gross of their Quantity to *London*, and receive each others Sorts in Retail for their own use again. *Norwich* Buys *Exeter* Serges, *Exeter* Buys *Norwich* Stuffs, all at *London*; *Yorkshire* Buys Fine Cloths and *Gloucester* Course, still at *London*; and the like, of a vast Variety of our Manufactures.

By this Exchange of Manufactures abundance of Trad-

ing Families are maintain'd by the Carriage and Re-carriage of Goods, vast number of Men and Cattle are employed, and numbers of Inholders, Victuallers, and their Dependencies subsisted.

And on this account I cannot but observe to your Honours, and 'tis well worth your Consideration, that the already Transposing a vast Woollen Manufacture from several Parts of *England* to *London*, is a manifest detriment to Trade in general, the several Woollen Goods now made in *Spittlefields*, where within this few Years were none at all made, has already visibly affected the several Parts, where they were before made, as *Norwich*, *Sudbury*, *Farnham*, and other Towns, many of whose Principal Tradesmen are now remov'd hither, employ their Stocks here, employ the Poor here, and leave the Poor of those Countries to shift for Work.

This Breach of the Circulation of Trade must necessarily Distemper the Body, and I crave leave to give an Example or two.

I'll presume to give an Example in Trade, which perhaps the Gentlemen concern'd in this Bill may, without Reflection upon their knowledge, be ignorant of.

The City of *Norwich*, and parts adjacent, were for some Ages employ'd in the Manufactures of Stuffs and Stockings.

The Latter Trade, which was once considerable, is in a manner wholly transpos'd into *London*, by the vast quanties of worsted Hose Wove by the Frame, which is a Trade within this 20 Years almost wholly new.

Now as the knitting Frame perform that in a Day which would otherwise employ a poor Woman eight or ten Days, by consequence a Few Frames perform'd the Work of many Thousand poor People; and the Con-

sumption being not increased, the Effect immediately appear'd; so many Stockings as were made in *London* so many the fewer were demanded from *Norwich*, till in a few Years the Manufacture there wholly sunk, the Masters there turn'd their hands to other Business; and whereas the Hose Trade from *Norfolk* once return'd at least 5000*s. per Week*, and as some say twice that Sum, 'tis not now worth naming.

'Tis in fewer Years, and near our Memory, that of *Spittle-fields* Men have fallen into another branch of the *Norwich* Trade, viz. making of Stuffs, Drugets, &c.

If any Man say the People of *Norfolk* are yet full of Employ, and do not Work; and some have been so weak as to make that Reply, avoiding the many other Demonstrations which could be given, this is past answering, viz. That the Combers of Wool in *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, who formerly had all, or ten Parts in eleven of their Yarn Manufactur'd in the Country, now comb their Wool indeed, and spin the Yarn in the Country, but send vast Quantities of it to *London* to be woven; will any Man question whether this be not a Loss to *Norwich*; Can there be as many Weavers as before? And are there not aundance of Work-men and Masters too remov'd to *London*?

If it be so at *Norwich*, *Canterbury* is yet more a melancholy Instance of it, where the Houses stand empty, and the People go off, and the Trade dye, because the Weavers are follow'd the Manufacture to *London*; and whereas there was within few Years 200 broad Looms at Work, I am well assur'd there are not 50 now Employ'd in that City.

These are the Effects of transposing Manufactures, and interrupting the Circulation of Trade.

All Methods to bring our Trade to be manag'd by

fewer hands than it was before, are in themselves pernicious to *England* in general, as it lessens the Employment of the Poor, unhinges their Hands from the Labour, and tends to bring our Hands to be superior to our Employ, which as yet it is not.

In *Dorsetshire* and *Somersetshire* there always has been a very considerable Manufacture for Stockings, at *Colchester* and *Sudbury* for Bayes, Sayes, &c. most of the Wool these Countries use is bought at *London*, and carried down into those Counties, and then the Goods being Manufactur'd are brought back to *London* to Market; upon transposing the Manufacture as before, all the poor People and all the Cattel who hitherto were Employ'd in that *Voiture*, are immediately disbanded by their Country, the Inkeepers on the Roads must Decay, so much Land lye for other uses, as the Cattle Employ'd, Houses and Tenement on the Roads, and all their Dependencies sink in Value.

'Tis hard to calculate what a blow it would be to Trade in general, should every County but Manufacture all the several sorts of Goods they use, it would throw our Inland Trade into strange Convulsions, which at present is perhaps, or has been, in the greatest Regularity of any in the World.

What strange Work must it then make when every Town shall have a Manufacture, and every Parish be a Ware-house; Trade will be burthen'd with Corporations, which are generally equally destructive as Monopolies, and by this Method will easily be made so.

Parish Stocks, under the Direction of Justices of Peace, may soon come to set up petty Manufactures, and here shall all useful things be made, and all the poorer sort of People shall be aw'd or byass'd to Trade there only. Thus

the Shop-keepers, who pay Taxes, and are the Support of our inland Circulation, will immediately be ruin'd, and thus we shall beggar the Nation to provide for the Poor.

As this will make every Parish a Market Town, and every Hospital a Store-house, so in *London*, and the adjacent Parts, to which vast quantities of the Woollen Manufacture will be thus transplanted thither, will in time, too great and disproportion'd Numbers of the People, assemble.

Tho' the settled Poor can't remove, yet single People will stroul about and follow the Manufacturer; and thus in time such vast numbers will be drawn about *London*, as may be inconvenient to the Government, and especially Depopulating to those Countries where the numbers of People, by reason of these Manufactures are very considerable.

An eminent Instance of this we have in the present Trade to *Muscovy*, which however design'd for an Improvement to the *English* Nation, and boasted of as such, appears to be Converted into a Monopoly, and proves Injurious and Destructive to the Nation. The Persons concern'd removing and carrying out our People to teach that unpolish'd Nation the Improvements they are capable of.

If the bringing the *Flemings* to *England* brought with them their Manufacture and Trade, carrying our People abroad, especially to a Country where the People work for little or nothing, what may it not do towards Instructing that populous Nation in such Manufactures as may in time tend to the destruction of our Trade, or the reducing our Manufacture to an Abatement in Value, which will be felt at home by an abatement of Wages, and that

in Provisions, and that in Rent of Land; and so the general Stock sinks of Course.

But as this is preparing, by eminent Hands, to be laid before this House as a Grievance meriting your Care and Concern, I omit insisting on it here.

And this removing of People is attended with many Inconveniencies which are not easily perceived, as

1. The immediate fall of the Value of all Lands in those Countries where the Manufactures were before; for as the numbers of People, by the Consumption of Provisions, must where ever they encrease make Rents rise, and Lands valuable; so those People removing, tho' the Provisions would, if possible, follow them, yet the Price of them must fall by all that Charge they are at for Carriage, and consequently Lands must fall in Proportion.

2. This Transplanting of Families, in time, would introduce great and new Alterations in the Countries they removed to, which as they would be to the Profit of some Places, would be to the Detriment of others, and can by no means be just any more than it is convenient; for no wise Government studies to put any Branch of their Country to any particular Disadvantages, tho' it may be found in the general Account in another Place.

If it be said here will be Manufactures in every Parish, and that will keep the People at home,

I humbly represent what strange Confusion and particular Detriment to the general Circulation of Trade *mention'd before* it must be, to have every Parish make its own Manufactures.

1. It will make our Towns and Counties independent of one another, and put a damp to Correspondence, which all will allow to be a great Motive of Trade in general.

2. It will fill us with various sorts and kinds of Manu-

factures, by which our stated sorts of Goods will in time dwindle away in Reputation, and Foreigners not know them one from another. Our several Manufactures are known by their respective Names; and our Serges, Bayes and other Goods, are bought abroad by the Character and Reputation of the Places where they are made; when there shall come new and unheard of Kinds to Market, some better, some worse, as to besure new Undertakers will vary in kinds, the Dignity and Reputation of the *English* Goods abroad will be lost, and so many Confusions in Trade must follow, as are too many to repeat.

3. Either our Parish-stock must sell by Wholesale or by Retail, or both; if the first, 'tis doubted they will make sorry work of it, and having other Business of their own make but poor Merchants; if by Retail, then they turn Pedlars, will be a publick nuisance to Trade, and at last quite ruin it.

4. This will ruin all the Carriers in *England*, the Wool will be all Manufactured where it is sheer'd, every body will make their own Cloaths, and the Trade which now lives by running thro' a multitude of Hands, will go then through so few, that thousands of Families will want Employment, and this is the only way to reduce us to the Condition spoken of, to have more Hands than Work.

'Tis the excellence of our *English* Manufacture, that it is so planted as to go thro' as many Hands as 'tis possible; he that contrives to have it go thro' fewer, ought at the same time to provide Work for the rest—As it is it Employes a great multitude of People, and can employ more; but if a considerable number of these People be unhing'd from their Employment, it cannot but be detrimental to the whole.

When I say we could employ more People in *England*,

I do not mean that we cannot do our Work with those we have, but I mean thus:

First, It should be more People brought over from foreign Parts. I do not mean that those we have should be taken from all common Employments and put to our Manufacture; we may unequally dispose of our Hands, and so have too many for some Works, and too few for others; and 'tis plain that in some parts of *England* it is so, what else can be the reason, why in our Southern Parts of *England*, *Kent* in particular, borrows 20000 People of other Countries to get in her Harvest.

But if more Forreigners came among us, if it were 2 Millions it could do us no harm, because they would consume our Provisions, and we have Land enough to produce much more than we do, and they would consume our Manufactures, and we have Wool enough for any Quantity.

I think therefore, with submission, to erect Manufactures in every Town to transpose the Manufactures from the settled places into private Parishes and Corporations, to parcel out our Trade to every Door, it must be ruinous to the Manufacturers themselves, will turn thousands of Families out of their Employments, and take the Bread out of the Mouths of diligent and industrious Families to feed Vagrants, Thieves and Beggars, who ought much rather to be compell'd, by Legal Methods, to seek that Work which it is plain is to be had; and thus this Act will instead of settling and relieving the Poor, encrease their Number, and starve the best of them.

It remains now, according to my first Proposal Page 9.¹ to consider from whence proceeds the Poverty of our People, what Accident, what Decay of Trade, what want of Employment, what strange Revolution of Circum-

¹Page 163 in the present volume.

stances makes our People Poor, and consequently Burthensom, and our Laws Deficient, so as to make more and other Laws Requisite, and the Nation concerned to apply a Remedy to this growing Disease. I Answer.

1. Not for want of Work; and besides what has been said on that Head, I humbly desire these two things may be consider'd.

First, 'Tis apparent, That if one Man, Woman, or Child, can by his, or her Labour, earn more Money than will subsist one body, there must consequently be no want of Work, since any Man would Work for just as much as would supply himself rather than starve—What a vast difference then must there be between the Work and the Work-men, when 'tis now known that in *Spittle-fields*, and other adjacent parts of the City, there is nothing more frequent than for a Journey-man Weaver, of many sorts, to gain from 15*s.* to 30*s.* *per* Week Wages, and I appeal to the Silk Throwsters, whether they do not give 8*s.* 9*s.* and 10*s.* *per* Week to blind Men and Cripples, to turn Wheels, and do the meanest and most ordinary Works.

Cur Moriatur Homo, &c

Why are the Families of these Men starv'd, and their Children in Work-houses, and brought up by Charity: I am ready to produce to this Honourable House the Man who for several Years has gain'd of me by his handy Labour at the mean scoundrel Employment of Tile making from 16*s.* to 20*s.* *per* Week Wages, and all that time would hardly have a pair of Shoes to his Feet, or Cloaths to cover his Nakedness, and had his Wife and Children kept by the Parish.

The meanest Labours in this Nation afford the Work-

men sufficient to provide for himself and his Family, and that could never be if there was a want of Work.

2. I humbly desire this Honourable House to consider the present Difficulty of Raising Soldiers in this Kingdom; the vast Charge the Kingdom is at to the Officers to procure Men; the many little and *not over honest Methods* made use of to bring them into the Service, the Laws made to compel them; Why are Goals rumag'd for Malefactors, and the Mint and Prisons for Debtors, the War is an Employment of Honour, and suffers some scandal in having Men taken from the Gallows, and immediately from Villains and House-breakers made Gentlemen Soldiers. If Men wanted Employment, and consequently Bread, this could never be, any Man would carry a Musquet rather than starve, and wear the Queens Cloth, or any Bodies Cloth, rather than go Naked, and live in Rags and want; 'tis plain the Nation is full of People, and 'tis as plain our People have no particular aversion to the War, but they are not poor enough to go abroad; 'tis Poverty makes Men Soldiers, and drives crowds into the Armies, and the Difficulties to get *English*-men to List is, because they live in Plenty and Ease, and he that can earn 20s. *per* Week at an easie, steady Employment, must be Drunk or Mad when he Lists for a Soldier, to be knock'd o'th'-Head for 3s. 6d. *per* Week; but if there was no Work to be had, if the Poor wanted Employment, if they had not Bread to eat, nor knew not how to earn it, thousands of young lusty Fellows would fly to the Pike and Musquet, and choose to dye like Men in the Face of the Enemy, rather than lye at home, starve, perish in Poverty and Distress.

From all these Particulars, and innumerable unhappy Instances which might be given, 'tis plain, the Poverty of

our People which is so burthensome, and increases upon us so much, does not arise from want of proper Employments, and for want of Work, or Employers, and consequently,

Work-houses, Corporations, Parish-stocks, and the like, to set them to Work, as they are Pernicious to Trade, Injurious and Impoverishing to those already employ'd, so they are needless, and will come short of the End propos'd.

The Poverty and Exigence of the Poor in *England*, is plainly deriv'd from one of these two particular Causes,
Casualty or Crime.

By Casualty, I mean Sickness of Families, loss of Limbs or Sight, and any, either Natural or Accidental Impotence as to Labour.

These as Infirmities meerly Providential are not at all concern'd in this Debate; ever were, will, and ought to be the Charge and Care of the Respective Parishes where such unhappy People chance to live, nor is there any want of new Laws to make Provision for them, our Ancestors having been always careful to do it.

The Crimes of our People, and from whence their Poverty derives, as the visible and direct Fountains are,

1. Luxury.

2. Sloath.

3. Pride.

Good Husbandry is no *English* Vertue, it may have been brought over, and in some Places where it has been planted it has thriven well enough, but 'tis a Forreign Species, it neither loves, nor is belov'd by an *English-man*; and 'tis observ'd, nothing is so universally hated, nothing treated with such a general Contempt as a Rich Covetous Man, tho' he does no Man any Wrong, only saves his

own, every Man will have an ill word for him, if a Misfortune happens to him, hang him a covetous old Rogue, 'tis no Matter, he's Rich enough, nay when a certain great Man's House was on Fire, I have heard the People say one to another, let it burn and 'twill, he's a covetous old miserly Dog, I won't trouble my head to help him, he'd be hang'd before he'd give us a bit of Bread if we wanted it.

Tho' this be a Fault, yet I observe from it something of the natural Temper and Genius of the Nation, generally speaking, they cannot save their Money.

'Tis generally said the *English* get Estates, and the *Dutch* save them; and this Observation I have made between Forreigners and *English-men*, that where an *English-man* earns 20s. *per Week*, and *but just lives*, as we call it, a *Dutch-man* grows Rich, and leaves his Children in very good Condition; where an *English* labouring Man with his 9s. *per Week* lives wretchedly and poor, a *Dutch-man* with that Wages will live very tolerably well, keep the Wolf from the Door, and have every thing handsome about him. In short, he will be Rich with the same Gain as makes the *English-man* poor, he'll thrive when the other goes in Rags, and he'll live when the other starves, or goes a begging.

The Reason is plain, a Man with good Husbandry, and Thought in his Head, brings home his Earnings honestly to his Family, commits it to the Management of his Wife, or otherwise disposes it for proper Subsistence, and this Man with mean Gains lives comfortably, and brings up a Family, when a single Man getting the same Wages Drinks it away at the Ale-house, thinks not of to morrow, layes up nothing for Sickness, Age, or Disaster, and when any of these happen he's starv'd, and a Beggar.

This is so apparent in every place, that I think it needs

no Explication; that *English* Labouring People eat and drink, but especially the latter three times as much in value as any sort of Forreigners of the same Dimensions in the World.

I am not Writing this as a Satyr on our People, 'tis a sad Truth; and Worthy the Debate and Application of the Nations Physitians Assembled in Parliament, the profuse Extravagant Humour of our poor People in eating and drinking, keeps them low, causes their Children to be left naked and starving, to the care of the Parishes, whenever either Sickness or Disaster befalls the Parent.

The next Article is their *Sloath*.

We are the most *Lazy Diligent* Nation in the World, vast Trade, Rich Manufactures, mighty Wealth, universal Correspondence and happy Success has been constant Companions of *England*, and given us the Title of an Industrious People, and so in general we are.

But there is a general Taint of Slothfulness upon our Poor, there's nothing more frequent, than for an *Englishman* to Work till he has got his Pocket full of Money, and then go and be idle, *or perhaps drunk*, till 'tis all gone, and perhaps himself in Debt; and ask him in his Cups what he intends, he'll tell you honestly, he'll drink as long as it lasts, and then go to work for more.

I humbly suggest this Distemper's so General, so Epidemick, and so deep Rooted in the Nature and Genius of the *English*, that I much doubt it's being easily redress'd, and question whether it be possible to reach it by an Act of Parliament.

This is the Ruine of our Poor, the *Wife mourns*, the Children *starve*, the Husband *has Work before him*, but lies at the Ale-house, or otherwise *idles away* his time, and won't Work.

'Tis the Men that *wont work*, not the Men that *can get no work*, which makes the numbers of our Poor; all the Work-houses in *England*, all the Overseers setting up Stocks and Manufactures won't reach this Case; and I humbly presume to say, if these two Articles are remov'd, there will be no need of the other.

I make no Difficulty to promise on a short Summons, to produce above a Thousand Families in *England*, within my particular knowledge, who go in Rags, and their Children wanting Bread, whose Fathers can earn their 15 to 25*s. per* Week, but will not work, who may have Work enough, but are too idle to seek after it, and hardly vouchsafe to earn any thing more than bare Subsistence, and Spending Money for themselves.

I can give an incredible number of Examples in my own Knowledge among our Labouring Poor. I once paid 6 or 7 Men together on a *Saturday* Night, the least 10*s.* and some 30*s.* for Work, and have seen them go with it directly to the Ale-house, lie there till *Monday*, spend it every Penny, and run in Debt to boot, and not give a Farthing of it to their Families, tho' all of them had Wives and Children.

From hence comes Poverty, Parish Charges, and Beggary, if ever one of these Wretches falls sick, all they would ask was a Pass to the Parish they liv'd at, and the Wife and Children to the Door a Begging.

If this Honourable House can find out a Remedy for this part of the Mischief; if such Acts of Parliament may be made as may effectually cure the Sloth and Luxury of our Poor, that shall make Drunkards take care of Wife and Children, spendthrifts, lay up for a *wet Day*; Idle, Lazy Fellows Diligent; and Thoughtless Sottish Men, Careful and Provident.

If this can be done, I presume to say there will be no need of transposing and confounding our Manufactures, and the Circulation of our Trade; they will soon find work enough, and there will soon be less Poverty among us, and if this cannot be done, setting them to work upon Woolen Manufactures, and thereby encroaching upon those that now work at them, will but ruine our Trade, and consequently increase the number of the Poor.

I do not presume to offer the Schemes I have now drawn of Methods for the bringing much of this to pass, because I shall not presume to lead a Body so August, so Wise, and so Capable as this Honourable Assembly.

I humbly submit what is here offered, as Reasons to prove the Attempt now making insufficient; and doubt not but in your Great Wisdom, you will find out Ways and Means to set this Matter in a clearer Light, and on a right Foot.

And if this obtains on the House to examine farther into this Matter, the Author humbly recommends it to their Consideration to accept, *in behalf of all the Poor of this Nation*, a Clause in the room of this objected against, which shall answer the End without this terrible Ruin to our Trade and People.

FINIS

An
APPEAL
to
HONOUR and JUSTICE,

Tho' it be of
his Worst Enemies.

By DANIEL DE FOE

Being
A True Account of His Conduct in
Publick Affairs.

JEREM. xviii. 18

*Come and let us smite him with the Tongue; and let us not give
heed to any of his Words.*

LONDON :

Printed for J. BAKER, at the *Black Boy* in *Pater-Noster-Row*
1715.

AN APPEAL TO HONOUR AND JUSTICE, THO'
IT BE OF HIS WORST ENEMIES, *was first published*
in January, 1715 (8vo, title, and pages 58); but as Lee
points out in his 'Daniel Defoe: his Life, etc.,' 3 vols. 1869,
it is almost certain from the internal evidence that it was com-
pleted before October 1, 1714. It is Defoe's own account of
his conduct in public affairs, and is a manly protest against the
ill-usage he had so long received both from his friends and his
enemies.

It is here reprinted from the first edition. The words, or
portions of words, enclosed within square brackets have been
added by the editor.

An APPEAL *to* HONOUR & JUSTICE, &c.

I HOPE the Time is come at last, when the Voice of moderate Principles may be heard; hitherto the Noise has been so great, and the Prejudices and Passions of Men so strong, that it had been but in vain to offer at any Argument, or for any Man to talk of giving a Reason for his Actions: And this alone has been the Cause why, when other Men, who, I think, have less to say in their own Defence, are appealing to the Publick, and struggling to defend themselves, I alone have been silent under the infinite Clamours and Reproaches, causeless Curses, unusual Threatnings, and the most unjust and injurious Treatment in the World.

I hear much of Peoples calling out to punish the Guilty; but very few are concern'd to clear the Innocent. I hope some will be inclin'd to Judge impartially, and have yet reserv'd so much of the Christian, as to believe, and at least to hope, that a rational Creature cannot abandon himself so as to act without some Reason, and are willing not only to have me defend my self, but to be able to answer for me where they hear me causlessly insulted by others, and therefore are willing to have such just Arguments put into their Mouths as the Cause will bear.

As for those who are prepossess'd, and according to the modern Justice of Parties are resolv'd to be so, *Let them go*, I am not arguing with them, *but against them*; they act so contrary to Justice, to Reason, to Religion, so contrary to the Rules of Christians and of good Manners, that they are not to be argued with, but to be expos'd, or

entirely neglected. I have a Receipt against all the Uneasiness which it may be supposed to give me, and that is, to contemn Slander, and think it not worth the least Concern; neither should I think it worth while to give any Answer to it, if it were not on some other Accounts, of which I shall speak as I go on.

If any Man ask me, why I am in such hast to publish this Matter at this time? Among many other good Reasons which I could give, these are some:

1. I think I have long enough been made *Fabula Vulgi*, and born the Weight of general Slander; and I should be wanting to Truth, to my Family, and to my Self, if I did not give a fair and true State of my Conduct for impartial Men to judge of, when I am no more in being to answer for my self.

2. By the Hints of Mortality, and by the Infirmities of a Life of Sorrow and Fatigue, I have Reason to think that I am not a great way off from, if not very near to the great Ocean of Eternity, and the time may not be long e're I embark on the last Voyage: Wherefore, I think, I should *even Accounts* with this World before I go, that no Actions (Slanders) may lie against my Heirs, Executors, Administrators, and Assigns, to disturb them in the peaceable Possession of their Father's (Character) Inheritance.

3. I fear, *God grant I have not a second Sight in it*, that this lucid Interval of Temper and Moderation which shines, *tho' dimly too* upon us at this time, will be but of short Continuance, and that some Men, who know not how to use the Advantage God has put into their Hands with Moderation, will push, in spight of the best Prince in the World, at such extravagant Things, and act with such an intemperate Forwardness, as will revive the Heats

and Animosities which wise and good Men were in hopes should be allay'd by the happy Accession of the King to the Throne.

It is and ever was my Opinion, that Moderation is the only Vertue by which the Peace and Tranquillity of this Nation can be preserv'd, even the King himself, *I believe his Majesty will allow me that Freedom*, can only be happy in the Enjoyment of the Crown by a Moderate Administration, if his Majesty should be oblig'd, contrary to his known Disposition, to joyn with intemperate Councils; if it does not lessen his Security, I am perswaded it will lessen his Satisfaction. It cannot be pleasant or agreeable, and, *I think*, it cannot be safe to any just Prince to Rule over a divided People, split into incens'd and exasperated Parties: Tho' a skilful Mariner may have Courage to master a Tempest, and goes fearless thro' a Storm, yet he can never be said to delight in the Danger; a fresh fair Gale, and a quiet Sea, is the Pleasure of his Voyage, and we have a Saying worth Notice to them that are otherwise minded, *Qui amat periculum periibat in illo*.

To attain at the happy Calm, which, as I say, is the Safety of *Britain*, is the Question which should now move us all; and he would Merit to be call'd the Nation's Physician that could prescribe the Specifick for it. I think I may be allow'd to say, a *Conquest of Parties* will never do it! a *Ballance of Parties* MAY. Some are for *the former*; they talk high of Punishments, letting Blood, revenging the Treatment they have met with, and the like: If they, *not knowing what Spirit they are of*, think this the Course to be taken, let them try their Hands, I shall give them for lost, and look for their Downfall *from that time*; for the Ruin of all such Tempers slumbereth not.

It is many Years that I have profess'd my self an Enemy to all Precipitations in publick Administrations; and often I have attempted to shew, that hot Councils have ever been destructive to those who have made use of them: Indeed they have not always been a Disadvantage to the Nation, as in King *James II.*'s Reign, where, as I have often said in Print, his Precipitation was the Safety of us all; and if he had proceeded temperately and politickly, we had been undone, *Fælix quem faciunt.*

But these things have been spoken when your Ferment has been too high for any thing to be heard; whether you will hear it now or not, *I know not*, and therefore it was that I said, *I fear* the present Cessation of Party-Arms will not hold long.

These are some of the Reasons why I think this is the proper Juncture for me to give some Account of my self, and of my past Conduct to the World; and that I may do this as effectually as I can, being perhaps never more to speak from the Press, I shall, as concisely as I can, give an Abridgment of my own History during the few unhappy Years I have employ'd my self, or been employ'd in Publick in the World.

Misfortunes in Business having unhing'd me from Matters of Trade, it was about the Year 1694, when I was invited by some Merchants, with whom I had corresponded abroad, and some also at home, to settle at *Cadiz* in *Spain*, and that with Offers of very good Commissions; but Providence, which had other Work for me to do, placed a secret Aversion in my Mind to quitting *England* upon any account, and made me refuse the best Offers of that kind, to be concern'd with some eminent Persons at home, in proposing *Ways* and *Means* to the Government for raising Money to supply the Occasions of the War

then newly begun. Some time after this, I was, without the least Application of mine, and being then seventy Miles from *London*, sent for to be Accomptant to the Commissioners of the Glass Duty, in which Service I continued to the Determination of their Commission.

During this time, there came out a vile abhor'd Pamphlet, in very ill Verse, written by one *Mr. Tutchin*, and call'd *THE FOREIGNERS*: In which the Author, *who be was I then knew not*, fell personally upon the King himself, and then upon the *Dutch* Nation; and after having reproach'd His Majesty with Crimes, that his worst Enemy could not think of without Horror, he sums up all in the odious Name of *FOREIGNER*.

This fill'd me with a kind of Rage against the Book; and gave birth to a Trifle which I never could hope should have met with so general an Acceptation as it did, I mean, *The True-Born-Englishman*. How this Poem was the Occasion of my being known to His Majesty; how I was afterwards receiv'd by him; how Employ'd; and how, above my Capacity of deserving, Rewarded, is no Part of the present Case, and is only mention'd here as I take all Occasions to do for the expressing the Honour I ever preserv'd for the Immortal and Glorious Memory of that Greatest and Best of Princes, and who it was my Honour and Advantage to call Master as well as Sovereign, whose Goodness to me I never forget; and whose Memory I never patiently heard abused, nor ever can do so; and who had he liv'd, would never have suffered me to be treated as I have been in the World.

But Heaven for our Sins remov'd him in Judgment. How far the Treatment he met with, from the Nation he came to save, and whose Deliverance he finished, was admitted by Heaven to be a Means of his Death, I desire to

forget for their sakes who are guilty; and if this calls any of it to mind, it is mention'd to move them to treat him better who is now with like Principles of Goodness and Clemency appointed by God, and the Constitution, to be their Sovereign; least he that protects righteous Princes, avenges the Injuries they receive from an ungrateful People, by giving them up to the Confusions their Madness leads them to.

And in their just acclamations at the happy accession of His present Majesty to the Throne, I cannot but advise them to look back, and call to mind who it was that first Guided them to the Family of *Hanover*, and to pass by all the Popish Branches of *Orleans* and *Savoy*, recognizing the just authority of Parliament, in the undoubted Right of Limiting the Succession, and Establishing that Glorious Maxim of our Settlement, (viz.) That *it is inconsistent with the Constitution of this Protestant Kingdom to be Govern'd by a Popish Prince*. I say let them call to mind who it was that guided their Thoughts first to the Protestant Race of our own Kings in the House of *Hanover*, and that it is to King *William*, next to Heaven it self, to whom we owe the Enjoying of a Protestant King at this time. I need not go back to the particulars of His Majesty's Conduct in that Affair, his Journey in Person to the country of *Hanover*, and the Court of *Zell*; his particular management of the Affair afterwards at home, perfecting the Design, by naming the Illustrious Family to the Nation, and bringing about a Parliamentary Settlement to effect it, entailing thereby the Crown in so effectual a manner as we see has been sufficient to prevent the worst Designs of our *Jacobite* People in behalf of the Pretender; a Settlement, together with the subsequent Acts which followed it, and the Union with *Scotland* which made it unalterable, that gave a compleat Satisfaction to those

who knew and understood it, and removed those terrible apprehensions of the Pretender (which some entertain'd) from the minds of others who were yet as zealous against him as it was possible for any to be: Upon this Settlement, as *I shall shew presently*, I grounded my Opinion, *which I often express'd*, (*viz.*) that I did not see it possible the Jacobites could ever set up their Idol here; and I think my Opinion abundantly justify'd in the Consequences, of which by and by.

This Digression, as a debt to the Glorious Memory of King *William*, I could not in Justice omit, and as the Reign of his present Majesty is esteem'd Happy, and look'd upon as a Blessing from Heaven by us, it will most necessarily lead us to bless the Memory of King *William* to whom we owe so much of it; How easily could his Majesty have led us to other Branches, whose Relation to the Crown might have had large pretences? What Prince but would have submitted to have Educated a Successor of their Race in the Protestant Religion for the sake of such a Crown? But the King, who had our Happiness in View, and saw as far into it as any humane sight could Penetrate, who knew we were not to be Govern'd by un-experienc'd Youths; that the Protestant Religion was not to be Establish'd by Political Converts; and that Princes under *French* Influence, or Instructed in *French* Politicks were not proper Instruments to preserve the Liberties of *Britain*, fixt his Eyes upon the Family who now possesses the Crown, as not only having an undoubted Relation to it by Blood, but as being first and principally Zealous and Powerful assertors of the Protestant Religion and Interest against Popery; and *Secondly*, stored with a visible Succession of worthy and promising Branches, who appear'd equal to the Weight of Government, qualified to fill a Throne, and guide a Nation which, without Re-

flection, are not famed to be the most easy to Rule in the World.

Whether the Consequence has been a Credit to King *William's* Judgment I need not say, I am not Writing Panegyricks here, but doing justice to the Memory of the King my Master, who I have had the Honour very often to hear express himself with great satisfaction, in having brought the Settlement of the Succession to so good an Issue; and to repeat his Majesty's own Words, *That he knew no Prince in Europe so fit to be King of England, as the Elector of Hanover*. I am persuaded, without any Flattery, that if it should not every way answer the Expectations his Majesty had of it, the fault will be our own: God Grant the King may have more Comfort of his Crown than we suffer'd King *William* to have.

The King being Dead, and the Queen Proclaim'd, the Hot Men of that Side, as Hot Men of all Sides do, Thinking the Game in their own Hands, and all other People under their Feet, began to run out into all those mad Extreams, and precipitate themselves into such Measures, as according to the Fate of all intemperate Councils, ended in their own Confusions, and threw them at last out of the Saddle.

The Queen, who, tho' willing to favour the High Church Party, did not thereby design the Ruin of those who she did not Employ, was soon alarm'd at their wild Conduct, and turn'd them out, adhering to the moderate Councils of those who better understood, or more faithfully pursued her Majesty's and their Countries Interest.

In this Turn fell Sir *Edw. Seymour's* Party, for so the High Men were then call'd; and to this Turn, we owe the Conversion of several other Great Men, who became *Whigs* upon that Occasion, which it is known they were

not before; which Conversion afterwards begat that unkind Distinction of Old Whig and Modern Whig, which some of the former were with very little Justice pleased to run up afterwards to an Extreme very pernicious to both.

But I am gone too far in this Part. I return to my own Story. In the Interval of these Things, and during the Heat of the first Fury of High-flying, I fell a Sacrifice for writing against the Rage and Madness of that High Party, and in the Service of the Dissenters: What Justice I met with, and above all what Mercy, is too well known to need a Repetition.

This Introduction is made that it may bring me to what has been the Foundation of all my further Concern in publick Affairs, and will produce a sufficient Reason for my adhering to those whose Obligations upon me were too strong to be resisted, even when many things were done by them which I could not approve; and for this Reason it is that I think it is necessary to distinguish how far I did, or did not adhere to, or joyn in or with the Persons or Conduct of the late Government; and those who are willing to judge with Impartiality and Charity, will see reason to use me more tenderly in their Thoughts when they weigh the Particulars.

I will make no Reflections upon the Treatment I met with from the People I suffer'd for, or how I was abandon'd even in my Sufferings, at the same time that they acknowledg'd the Service it had been to their Cause; but I must mention it to let you know, that while I lay friendless and distress'd in the Prison of *Newgate*, my Family ruin'd, and my self without Hope of Deliverance, a Message was brought me from a Person of Honour, who, till that time, I had never had the least Acquaintance with, or Knowledge of, other than by Fame, or by Sight, as we know Men of Quality by seeing them on publick Occa-

sions. I gave no present Answer to the Person who brought it, having not duly weighed the Import of the Message; the Message was by Word of Mouth thus *Pray ask that Gentleman, what I can do for him?* But in return to this kind and generous Message, I immediately took my Pen and Ink, and writ the Story of the blind Man in the Gospel, who follow'd our Saviour, and to whom our Blessed Lord put the Question, *What wilt thou that I should do unto thee?* Who, as if he had made it strange that such a Question should be ask'd, or as if he had said, *Lord, dost thou see that I am blind, and yet ask me what thou shalt do for me?* My Answer is plain in my Misery, *Lord, that I may receive my Sight.*

I needed not to make the Application; and from this time, altho' I lay four Months in Prison after this, and heard no more of it, yet from this time, as I learn'd afterwards, this noble Person made it his Business to have my Case represented to Her Majesty, and Methods taken for my Deliverance.

I mention this Part, because I am no more to forget the Obligation upon me to the Queen, than to my first Benefactor.

When Her Majesty came to have the Truth of the Case laid before Her, I soon felt the Effects of her Royal Goodness and Compassion. And first, Her Majesty declar'd That She left all that Matter to a certain Person, and did not think he would have used me in such a Manner. Perhaps these Words may seem imaginary to some, and the speaking them to be of no Value, and so they would have been if they had not been follow'd with farther and more convincing Proofs of what they imported, which were these, That Her Majesty was pleased particularly to enquire into my Circumstances and Family, and

by my Lord Treasurer *Godolphin*, to send a considerable Supply to my Wife and Family, and to send me to the Prison, Money to pay my Fine, and the Expences of my Discharge. Whether this be a just Foundation, let my Enemies judge.

Here is the Foundation on which I built my first Sense of Duty to Her Majesty's Person, and the indelible Bond of Gratitude to my first Benefactor.

Gratitude and Fidelity are inseparable from an honest Man. But to be thus oblig'd by a Stranger, by a Man of Quality and Honour, and after that by the Sovereign, under whose Administration I was suffering, let any one put himself in my stead, and examine upon what Principles I could ever act against either such a Queen, or such a Benefactor; and what must my own Heart reproach me with, what blushes must have cover'd my Face when I had look'd in, and call'd myself ungrateful to him that sav'd me thus from distress? or Her that fetch'd me out of the Dungeon, and gave my Family Relief? Let any Man, who knows what Principles are, what Engagements of Honour and Gratitude are, make this Case his own, and say what I could have done less or more than I have done.

I must go on a little with the Detail of the Obligation, and then I shall descend to relate what I have done, and what I have not done in the Case.

Being deliver'd from the Distress I was in, Her Majesty, who was not satisfy'd to do me Good by a single Act of her Bounty, had the Goodness to think of taking me into her Service, and I had the Honour to be employ'd in several honourable, tho' secret Services, by the Interposition of my first Benefactor, who then appear'd as a Member in the publick Administration.

I had the Happiness to discharge my self in all these Trusts, so much to the Satisfaction of those who employ'd me, tho' often times with Difficulty and Danger, that my Lord Treasurer *Godolphin*, whose memory I have always always honour'd, was pleas'd to continue his Favour to me, and to do me all good Offices with Her Majesty, even after an unhappy Breach had separated him from my first Benefactor: The Particulars of which may not be improper to relate; and as it is not an Injustice to any, so I hope it will not be offensive.

When upon that fatal Breach, the Secretary of State was dismiss'd from the Service, I look'd upon my self as lost, it being a general Rule in such Cases, when a great Officer falls, that all who came in by his Interest fall with him. And resolving never to abandon the Fortunes of the Man to whom I ow'd so much of my own, I quitted the usual Applications which I had made to my Lord Treasurer.

But my generous Benefactor, when he understood it, frankly told me, That I should by no means do so; for, said he, in the most engaging terms, My Lord Treasurer will employ you in nothing but what is for the publick Service, and agreeable to your own Sentiments of Things: And besides, it is the Queen you are serving, who has been very good to you. Pray apply your self as you used to do; I shall not take it ill from you in the least.

Upon this I went to wait on my Lord Treasurer, who receiv'd me with great Freedom, and told me smiling, *He had not seen me a long while*. I told his Lordship very frankly the Occasion, That the unhappy Breach that had fallen out had made me doubtful whether I should be acceptable to his Lordship. That I knew it was usual, when great Persons fall, that all who were in their Interest fell

with them. That his Lordship knew the Obligations I was under, and that I could not but fear my Interest in his Lordship was lessen'd on that Account. *Not at all, Mr. De Foe* reply'd his Lordship; *I always think a Man honest, till I find to the contrary.*

Upon this I attended his Lordship as usual, and being resolved to remove all possible Ground of Suspicion that I kept any secret Correspondence, I never visited, or wrote to, or any way corresponded with my principal Benefactor for above three Years; which he so well knew the Reason of, and so well approv'd that punctual Behaviour in me, that he never took it ill from me at all.

In Consequence of this Reception, my Lord *Godolphin* had the Goodness not only to introduce me for the second time to her Majesty, and to the Honour of kissing her Hand, but obtain'd for me the Continuance of an Appointment which Her Majesty had been pleas'd to make me in Consideration of a former special Service I had done, and in which I had run as much risque of my Life, as a Grenadier upon the Counterscarp; and which Appointment however was first obtain'd for me at the Intercession of my said first Benefactor, and is all owing to that Intercession, and Her Majesty's Bounty. Upon this second Introduction Her Majesty was pleased to tell me with a Goodness peculiar to Her self, That she had such Satisfaction in my former Services, that she had appointed me for another Affair, which was something Nice, and that my Lord Treasurer should tell me the rest; and so I withdrew.

The next Day his Lordship having commanded me to attend, told me, That he must send me to *Scotland*; and gave me but three Days to prepare myself. Accordingly I went to *Scotland*, where neither my Business, nor the

manner of my discharging it is material to this Tract, nor will it be ever any part of my Character that I reveal what should be concealed; and yet my Errand was such as was far from being unfit for a Sovereign to direct, or an honest Man to perform; and the Service I did on that Occasion, as it is not unknown to the greatest Man now in the Nation under the King and the Prince, so I dare say, his Grace was never displeased with the Part I had in it, and I hope will not forget it.

These things I mention upon this Account, and no other, (*viz.*) to state the Obligation I have been in all along to Her Majesty personally, and to my first Benefactor principally, by which, I *say*, *I THINK* I was at least obliged not to act against them even in those things which I might not approve. Whether I have acted with them farther than I ought, shall be spoken to by it self.

Having said thus much of the Obligations lay'd on me, and the Persons by whom, I have this only to add, That I think no Man will say a Subject could be under greater Bonds to his Prince, or a private Person to a Minister of State; and I shall ever preserve this Principle, that an honest Man cannot be ungrateful to his Benefactor.

But let no Man run away now with the Notion, that I am now intending to plead the Obligation that was upon me from Her Majesty, or from any other Person, to justify my doing any thing that is not otherwise to be justify'd in it self.

Nothing would be more injurious than such a Construction; and therefore I capitulate for so much Justice as to explain my self by this Declaration (*viz.*) That I only speak of these Obligations as binding me to a negative Conduct, not to fly in the Face of, or concern my self in Disputes with those to whom I was under such Obliga-

tions, altho' I might not in my Judgment joyn in many things that were done. No Obligation could excuse me in calling Evil Good, or Good Evil; but I am of the Opinion that I might justly think my self oblig'd to defend what I thought was to be defended, and to be silent in any thing which I might think was not.

If this is a Crime, I must plead guilty, and give in the History of my Obligation above-mentioned as an Extenuation, at least, if not a Justification of my Conduct; suppose a Man's Father was guilty of several things unlawful and unjustifiable, a Man may heartily detest the unjustifiable thing, and yet it ought not to be expected that he should expose his Father. I think the Case on my side exactly the same. Nor can the Duty to a Parent be more strongly obliging than the Obligation laid on me; But I must allow the Case on the other side not the same.

And this brings me to the Affirmative, and to enquire what the Matters of Fact are, what I have done, or have not done, on Account of these Obligations which I have been under.

It is a general Suggestion, and is affirm'd with such Assurance, that they tell me it is in vain to contradict it; That I have been employ'd by the Earl of O[xford], late Lord Treasurer, in the late Disputes about Publick Affairs, to write for him, or to put it into their own Particulars, have written by his Direction, taken the Materials from him, been dictated to, or instructed by him, or by other Persons from him, by his Order, and the like; and that I have receiv'd a Pension, or Sallery, or Payment from his Lordship for such Services as these.

If I could put it into Words that would more fully express the Meaning of these People, I profess I would do it.

One would think it was impossible; but that since these things have been so confidently affirm'd, some Evidence might be produc'd, some Facts might appear, some one Body or other might be found that could speak of certain Knowledge: To say things have been carry'd too closely to be discover'd, *is saying nothing*; for then they must own, *that it is not discover'd*: And how then can they affirm it, as they do, with such an Assurance, as nothing ought to be affirm'd by honest Men, unless they were able to prove it?

To speak then to the Fact: Were the Reproach upon *me only* in this Particular, I should not mention it; I should not think it a Reproach to be directed by a Man to whom the Queen had at that time entrusted the Administration of the Government. But as it is a Reproach upon his Lordship, Justice requires that I do Right in this Case. The Thing is true or false, I would recommend it to those who would be call'd honest Men, to consider but one thing, (*viz.*) What if it should not be true? Can they justify the Injury done to that Person, or to any Person concern'd? If it cannot be prov'd, if no Vestiges appear to ground it upon, how can they charge Men upon Rumours and Reports, and joyn to run Men's Characters down by the Stream of Clamour.

Sed quo rapit impetus undæ.

In Answer to the Charge, I bear Witness to Posterity, that every Part of it is false and forg'd; and I do solemnly protest, in the *Fear* and *Presence* of him that shall Judge us all, both the Slanders, and the Slandered, that I have not receiv'd any Instructions, Directions, Orders, *or let them call it what they will of that kind*, for the Writing any Part of what I have written, or any Materials for the put-

ting together, for the Forming any Book or Pamphlet whatsoever from the said Earlof O[xford], late Lord Treasurer, or from any Person, by his Order, or Direction, since the Time that the late Earlof G[odolphin] was Lord Treasurer: Neither did I ever shew, or cause to be shew'd to his Lordship, for his Approbation, Correction, Alteration, or for any other Cause, any Book, Paper, or Pamphlet, which I have Written and Publish'd before the same was Printed, work'd off at the Press, and Publish'd.

If any Man living can detect me of the least Prevarication in this, or in any Part of it, I desire him to do it by all means; and I challenge all the World to do it—*And if they cannot*, then I appeal, *as in my title*, to the Honour and Justice of my worst Enemies, to know upon what Foundation of Truth or Conscience they can affirm these things, and for what it is that I bear these Reproaches.

In all my Writing, I never capitulated for my Liberty to speak according to my own Judgment of Things; I ever had that Liberty allow'd me, nor was I ever imposed upon to write this way or that against my Judgment by any Person whatsoever.

I come now historically to the Point of Time, when my Lord Godolphin was dismiss'd from his Employment, and the late unhappy Division broke out at Court; I waited on my Lord the Day he was displac'd, and humbly ask'd his Lordship's Direction, what Course I should take? His Lordship's answer was, *That he had the same good Will to assist me, but not the same Power; That I was the Queen's Servant, and that all he had done for me, was by Her Majesty's special and particular Direction; and that whoever should succeed him, it was not material to me, he supposed I should be employ'd in nothing relating to the present Differences: My Business was to wait till I saw things settled, and*

then apply my self to the Ministers of State, to receive Her Majesty's Commands from them.

It occur'd to me immediately, as a Principle for my Conduct, that it was not material to me what Ministers Her Majesty was pleas'd to employ, my Duty was to go along with every Ministry, so far as they did not break in upon the Constitution, and the Laws and Liberties of my Country; my Part being only the Duty of a Subject, (*viz.*) to submit to all lawful Commands, and to enter into no Service which was not justifiable by the Laws: To all which I have exactly oblig'd my self.

By this I was providentially cast back upon my Original Benefactor, who, according to his wonted Goodness, was pleased to lay my Case before Her Majesty, and thereby I preserv'd my Interest in Her Majesty's Favour; but without any Engagement of Service.

As for Consideration, Pension, Gratification, or Reward, I declare to all the World I have had none; except only that old Appointment which Her Majesty was pleased to make me in the Days of the Ministry of my Lord *Godolphin*: Of which I have spoken already, and which was for Services done in a foreign Country some Years before. Neither have I been employ'd, or directed, or order'd, by my Lord T[reasure]r aforesaid, to do, or not to do, any thing in the Affairs of the unhappy Differences which have so long perplex'd us, and for which I have suffer'd so many, and such unjust Reproaches.

I come next to enter into the Matters of Fact, and what it is I have done, or not done; which may justify the Treatment I have met with. And first, for the Negative Part, what I have not done.

The first Thing in the unhappy Breaches which have fallen out, is the heaping up Scandal upon the Persons

and Conduct of Men of Honour on one Side, as well as on the other; those unworthy Methods of falling upon one another by personal Calumny and Reproach. This I have often in print complain'd of as an unchristian, ungenerous, and unjustifiable Practice. Not a Word can be found in all I have written reflecting on the Persons, or Conduct of any of the former Ministry. I serv'd Her Majesty under their Administration, they acted honourably and justly in every Transaction in which I had the Honour to be concern'd with them; and I never publish'd, or said any thing dishonourable of any of them in my Life: Nor can the worst Enemy I have produce any such thing against me. I always regretted the Change, and look'd upon it as a great Disaster to the Nation in general, I am sure it was so to me in particular; and the Divisions and Feuds among Parties, which follow'd that Change, were doubtless a Disaster to us all.

Thenext Thing which follow'd the Change was THE P E A C E : No Man can say that ever I once said in my life, that I approv'd of the Peace. I wrote a publick Paper at that time, and there it Remains upon Record against me, I printed it openly, and that so plainly, as others durst not do; That I did not like the Peace, neither that which was made, nor that which was before a making; That I thought the Protestant Interest was not taken care of in either; That the Peace I was for, was such as should neither have given the *Spanish* Monarchy to the House of *Bourbon*, or the House of *Austria*; but that this Bone of Contention should have been broken to Pieces, that it should not have been dangerous to *Europe* on any Account, and that the Protestant Powers, *Britain* and the *States*, should have so strengthen'd and fortify'd their Interest by their sharing the Commerce and Strength of

Spain, as should have made them no more afraid either of *France*, or the *Emperor*: So that the Protestant Interest should have been superior to all the Powers of *Europe*, and been in no more Danger of exorbitant Power, whether *French* or *Austrian*. This was the Peace I always argued for, pursuant to the Design of King *William* in the Treaty of Partition, and pursuant to that Article in the Grand Alliance, which was directed by the same glorious Hand at the Beginning of this last War (*viz.*) That all we should conquer in the *Spanish-West-Indies* should be our own.

This was with a true Design that *England* and *Holland* should have turn'd their Naval Power, which were eminently superiour to those of *France*, to the Conquest of the *Spanish-West-Indies*, by which the Channel of Trade, and Return of Bullion, which now enriches the Enemies of both, had been ours; and as the Wealth, so the Strength of the World had been in Protestant Hands. *Spain*, whoever had it, must then have been dependent upon us; the House of *Bourbon* would have found it so poor without us, as to be scarce worth fighting for; and the People so averse to them for want of their Commerce, as not to make it ever likely *France* could keep it.

This was the Foundation I ever acted upon with relation to the Peace. It is true, that when it was made, and could not be otherwise, I thought our Business was to make the best of it, and rather to enquire what Improvements were to be made of it, than to be continually exclaiming at those who made it: and where the Objection lies against this Part I cannot yet see.

While I spoke of things in this manner, I bore infinite Reproaches from clamouring Pens, of being in the *French* Interest, being hir'd and brib'd to defend a bad Peace,

and the like; and most of this was upon a Supposition of my Writing, or being the Author of Abundance of Pamphlets which came out every Day, and which I had no hand in. And indeed, as I shall observe again by-and-by, this was one of the greatest Pieces of Injustice that could be done me, and which I labour still under without any redress; that whenever any Piece comes out which is not liked, I am immediately charg'd with being the Author, and, very often the first Knowledge I have had of a Book being publish'd, has been from seeing my self abused for being the Author of it, in some other Pamphlet publish'd in Answer to it.

Finding my self treated in this manner, I declin'd writing at all; and for a great Part of a Year never set Pen to Paper, except in the publick Paper call'd the *Review*. After this I was long absent in the *North of England*, and observing the Insolence of the *Jacobite* party, and how they insinuated fine things into the Heads of the Common People of the Right and Claim of the *Pretender*, and of the great Things he would do for us if he was to come in; of his being to turn a Protestant, of his being resolved to maintain our Liberties, support our Funds, give Liberty to Dissenters, and the like; and finding that the People began to be deluded, and that the *Jacobites* gain'd ground among them by these Insinuations, I thought it the best Service I could do the Protestant Interest, and the best way to open the People's Eyes to the Advantages of the Protestant Succession, if I took some Course effectually to alarm the people with what they really ought to expect if the *Pretender* should come to be King. And this made me set Pen to Paper again.

And this brings me to the affirmative Part, or to what really I HAVE DONE; and in this I am sorry to say,

I have one of the foulest, most unjust, and unchristian Clamours to complain of, that any man has suffer'd, I believe, since the Days of the Tyranny of King *James* the Second. The Fact is thus.

In order to detect the Influence of *Jacobite* Emissaries, as above, the first thing I wrote was a small Tract, call'd, *A Seasonable Caution*.

A Book sincerely written to open the Eyes of the poor ignorant Country People, and to warn them against the subtle Insinuations of the Emissaries of the *Pretender*; and that it might be effectual to that Purpose, I prevail'd with several of my Friends to give them away among the poor People all over *England*, especially in the *North*; and several thousands were actually given away, the Price being reduced so low, that the bare Expence of Paper and Press was only preserv'd, that every one might be convinc'd that nothing of Gain was design'd, but a sincere Endeavour to do a publick Good, and assist to keep the People entirely in the Interest of the Protestant Succession.

Next to this, and with the same sincere Design, I wrote Two Pamphlets, one entituled, *What if the Pretender should come?* The other, *Reasons against the Succession of the House of Hanover*. Nothing can be more plain, than that the Titles of these Books were Amusements, in order to put the Books into the Hands of those People who the *Jacobites* had deluded, and to bring the Books to be read by them.

Previous to what I shall farther say of these Books, I must observe, that all these Books met with so general a Reception and Approbation among those who were most sincere for the Protestant Succession, that they sent them all over the Kingdom, and recommended them to the

Peoples reading as excellent and useful Pieces, inso-much that about Seven Editions of them were Printed, and they were Reprinted in other Places, and I do protest, had his present Majesty, then Elector of *Hanover*, given me a thousand Pounds to have written for the Interest of his Succession, and to expose and render the Interest of the *Pretender* odious and ridiculous, I could have done nothing more effectual to those Purposes than these Books were.

And that I may make my worst Enemies, to whom this is a fair Appeal, Judges of this, I must take leave by-and-by to repeat some of the Expression in those Books which were direct, and need no Explication, and which, I think, no Man that was in the Interest of the *Pretender*, nay which no Man but one who was entirely in the Interest of the *Hanover* Succession, could write.

Nothing can be severer in the Fate of a Man than to act so between two Parties, that both Sides should be provok'd against him. It is certain, the *Jacobites* curs'd those Tracts and the Author; and when they came to read them, *being deluded by the Titles according to the Design*, they threw them by with the greatest Indignation imaginable: Had the *Pretender* ever come to the Throne, I could have expected nothing but Death, and all the Ignominy and Reproach that the most inveterate Enemy, of his Person and Claim could be suppos'd to suffer.

On the other hand, I leave it to any considering Man to Judge, what a Surprise it must be to me to meet with all the publick Clamour that Informers could invent, as being Guilty of writing against the *Hanover* Succession, and as having written several Pamphlets *in favour of the Pretender*.

No Man in this Nation ever had a more riveted Aver-

sion to the *Pretender*, and to all the Family he pretended to come of, *than I*: A Man that had been in Arms under the Duke of *Monmouth*, against the Cruelty and Arbitrary Government of his pretended Father; That for twenty Years had, to my utmost, opposed him (King *James*) and his Party after his Abdication; That had serv'd King WILLIAM to his Satisfaction, and the Friends of the Revolution after his Death, at all Hazards, and upon all Occasions; That had suffer'd and been ruin'd under the Administration of the *Highflyers* and *Jacobites*, of whom some are, *at this day*, C O U N T E R F E I T *Whigs*; It could not be! the Nature of the thing could by no means allow it, it must be monstrous; and that the Wonder may cease, I shall take leave to quote some of the Expressions out of these Books, of which the worst Enemy I have in the World is left to Judge, whether they are in Favour of the *Pretender*, or no; but of this in its Place.

For these Books I was prosecuted, taken into Custody, and oblig'd to give Eight hundred Pound Bail.

I do not in the least object here against, or design to reflect upon the Proceedings of the Judges which were subsequent to this; I acknowledg'd *then*, and *now* acknowledge *again*, that, upon the Information given, there was a sufficient Ground for all they did, and my unhappy entring upon my own Vindication in Print, while the Case was before their Lordships in a Judicial Way, was an Error which I neither understood, and which I did not foresee; and therefore, altho' I had great Reason to reflect upon the Informers, yet I was wrong in making that Defence in the Manner and Time I then made it, and which, when I found, I made no scruple afterwards to Petition the Judges, and acknowledge, that they had just Ground to resent it: Upon which Petition and Acknow-

ledgement, their Lordships were pleas'd, with particular Marks of Goodness, to release me, and not take the Advantage of an Error of Ignorance, as if it had been consider'd and premeditated.

But against the *I N F O R M E R S*, I think, I have great Reason to complain; and against the Injustice of those Writers, who, in many Pamphlets, charged me with writing for the *Pretender*; and the Government, with pardoning an Author who wrote for the *Pretender*; and indeed the Justice of those Men can be in nothing more clearly stated, than in this Case of mine; where the Charge, in their Printed Papers and Publick Discourse was brought, not that they themselves believ'd me Guilty of the Crime, but because it was necessary to blacken the Man; That a general Reproach might serve for an Answer to whatever he should say, that was not for their Turn: So that it was the Person, not the Crime, they fell upon, and they may justly be said to persecute for the sake of Persecution, *as will thus appear*.

This Matter making some Noise, People began to enquire into it, and to ask what *De Foe* was prosecuted for, seeing the Books were manifestly written against the *Pretender*, and for the Interest of the House of *Hanover*? And my Friends expostulated freely with some of the Men who appear'd in it, who answer'd, *with more Truth than Honesty*, That they knew this Book had nothing in it, and that it was meant another way; but that *De Foe* had disoblig'd them in other things, and they were resolv'd to take the Advantage they had, both to punish and expose him. They were no inconsiderable People who said this; and had the Case come to a Tryal, I had provided good Evidence to prove the Words.

This is the Christianity and Justice by which I have

been treated; and this Injustice is the thing that I complain of.

Now as this was a Plot of a few Men to see if they could brand me in the World for a *Jacobite*, and perswade rash and ignorant People that I was turn'd about for the *Pretender*, *I think they might as easily have prov'd me to be a Mahometan*; therefore, I say, this obliges me to state that Matter as it really stands, that impartial Men may Judge whether those Books were written for, or against the *Pretender*; and this cannot be better done, than by the Account of what follow'd after the first Information, which in a few Words is thus:

Upon the several Days appointed, I appear'd at the *Queen's Bench-Bar* to discharge my Bail; and at last had an Indictment for High Crimes and Misdemeanours exhibited against me by Her Majesty's Attorney-General, which, as I was inform'd, contain'd two hundred Sheets of Paper.

What was the Substance of the Indictment I shall not mention here, neither could I enter upon it, having never seen the Particulars: But I was told, that I should be brought to Tryal the very next Term.

I was not ignorant that in such Cases it is easy to make any Book a Libel, and that the Jury must have found the Matter of Fact in the Indictment, (*viz.*) That I had written such Books, and then what might have follow'd I knew not: Wherefore I thought it was my only way to cast my self on the Clemency of her Majesty, whose Goodness I had had so much Experience of many ways; representing in my Petition, that I was far from the least Intention to favour the Interest of the *Pretender*, but that the Books were all written with a sincere Design to promote the Interest of the House of *Hanover*; and humbly

laid before her Majesty, as I do now before the rest of the World, the Books themselves to plead in my behalf; representing farther, that I was maliciously inform'd against by those who were willing to put a Construction upon the Expressions different from my true Meaning, and therefore, flying to her Majesty's Goodness and Clemency, I entreated her Gracious PARDON.

It was not only the native Disposition of her Majesty to Acts of Clemency and Goodness, that obtain'd me this Pardon; but, as I was inform'd, her Majesty was pleas'd to express it in the Council, *She saw nothing but private Pique in the first Prosecution*; and therefore, I think, I cannot give a better and clearer Vindication of my self, than what is contain'd in the Preamble to the Pardon which her Majesty was pleas'd to grant me, and I must be allow'd to say, to those who are still willing to object, that, I think, what satisfy'd her Majesty might be sufficient to satisfy them; and I can assure them, that this Pardon was not granted without her Majesty's being specially and particularly acquainted with the things alledg'd in the Petition, the Books also being looked in to find the Expressions quoted in the Petition. The Preamble to the Patent for a Pardon, as far as relates to the Matters of Fact, runs thus:

W H E R E A S, in the Term of Holy Trinity last past, our Attorney-General did exhibit an Information, in our Court of Queen's Bench at Westminster, against DANIEL DE FOE, late of London, Gent., for Writing, Printing, and Publishing, and causing to be Written, Printed and Published, T H R E E L I B E L S : the one entituled, Reasons against the Succession of the House of Hanover; with an Enquiry, how far the Abdication of King James, supposing it to be legal, ought to affect the Person of the

Pretender. One other entituled, And what if the Pretender should Come? Or some Considerations of the Advantages and real Consequences of the Pretender's possessing the Crown of Great Britain. And one other entituled, An Answer to a Question that nobody thinks of, (viz.) What if the Queen should Die?

And whereas the said DANIEL DE FOE hath, by his humble Petition, represented to us, that he, with a sincere Design to propagate the Interest of the Hanover Succession, and to animate the People against the Designs of the Pretender, whom he always looked on as an Enemy to our Sacred Person and Government, did publish the said Pamphlets: In all which Books, altho' the Titles seem'd to look as if written in Favour of the Pretender, and several Expressions, as in all ironical Writing it must be, may be wrested against the true Design of the Whole, and turn'd to a Meaning quite different from the Intention of the Author, yet the Petitioner humbly assures us, in the solemnest Manner, that his true and only Design in all the said Books was, by an ironical Discourse of recommending the Pretender, in the strongest and most forcible Manner to expose his Designs, and the ruinous Consequences of his succeeding therein; which, as the Petitioner humbly represents, will appear to our Satisfaction by the Books themselves, where the following Expressions are very plain, (viz.) That the P R E T E N D E R is recommended as a person proper to amass the English Liberties into his own Sovereignty, supply them with the Privileges of wearing WOODEN SHOES; easing them of the trouble of chusing Parliaments; and the Nobility and Gentry of the Hazard and Expence of Winter Journeys, by governing them in that more righteous Method of his ABSOLUTE WILL; and enforcing the Laws by a Glorious STANDING ARMY; paying all the Nations

Debts at once by stopping the Funds, and shutting up the *Exchequer*; easing and quieting their Differences in Religion, by bringing them to the UNION of POPERY, or leaving them at Liberty to have no Religion at all: *That these were some of the very Expressions in the said Books which the Petitioner sincerely design'd to expose, and oppose as far as in him lies the Interest of the Pretender, and with no other Intention: NEVERTHELESS, the Petitioner, to his great Surprise, has been misrepresented, and his said Books misconstrued, as if written in Favour of the Pretender, and the Petitioner is now under Prosecution for the same; which Prosecution, if farther carried on, will be the utter Ruin of the Petitioner and his Family: Wherefore the Petitioner humbly assuring us of the Innocence of his Design, as aforesaid, flies to our Clemency, and most humbly prays our most gracious and free Pardon; WE taking the Premises, and the Circumstances aforesaid into our Royal Consideration, are graciously pleas'd etc.*

Let any indifferent Man Judge whether I was not treated with particular Malice in this Matter, who was, notwithstanding this, reproach'd in the daily Publick Prints with having written treasonable Books, in behalf of the *Pretender*: nay, and in some of those Books as before, the Queen her self, was reproach'd, *with having granted her Pardon to an Author who writ for the Pretender.*

I think I might with much more Justice say, I was *the first Man* that ever was oblig'd to seek a Pardon for writing for the *Hanover* Succession; and *the first Man* that these People ever sought to Ruin for writing against the *Pretender*: For if ever a Book was sincerely design'd to farther and propagate the Affection and Zeal of the Nation against the *Pretender*, nay, and was made use of,

and that with success too, for that purpose, **T H E S E B O O K S** *were so*; and I ask no more Favour of the World to determine the Opinion of honest Men for or against me than what is drawn constructively from these Books. Let one Word, either written or spoken by me, either publish'd or not publish'd, be produced, that was in the least disrespectful to the Protestant Succession, or to any Branch of the Family of *Hanover*, or that can be judg'd to be favourable to the Interest or Person of the *Pretender*, and I will be willing to wave her Majesty's Pardon, and render my self to Publick Justice, to be punish'd for it as I should well deserve.

I freely and openly Challenge the worst of my Enemies to charge me with any Discourse, Conversation, or Behaviour in my whole Life, which had the least Word in it injurious to the Protestant Succession, unbecoming or disrespectful to any of the Persons of the Royal Family of *Hanover*, or the least favourable Word of the Person, the Designs, or Friends of the *Pretender*.

If they can do it, let them stand forth and speak, no doubt but they may be heard; and I, for my part, will relinquish all Pleas, Pardons, and Defences, and cast my self into the Hands of Justice.

Nay, to go farther, I defy them to prove, that I ever kept Company, or had any Society, Friendship, or Conversation with any *Jacobite*; so averse have I been to the Interest, and to the People, that I have studiously avoided their Company upon all Occasions.

As nothing in the World has been more my Aversion than the Society of *Jacobites*, so nothing can be a greater Misfortune to me than to be accus'd, and publickly reproach'd with what is, of all things in the World, most abhorr'd by me, and [that] which has made it the more

afflicting is that this Charge arises from those very things, which I did, with the sincerest Design, to manifest the contrary.

But such is my present Fate, and I am to submit to it, which I do with Meekness and Calmness, as to a Judgment from Heaven, and am practising that Duty which I have studied long ago, of *Forgiving my Enemies*, and *praying for them that despitefully use me*.

Having given this brief History of the Pardon, &c., I hope the Impartial part of the World will Grant me, That being thus graciously Deliver'd a second Time from the Cruelty of my Implacable Enemies, and the Ruin of a Cruel and unjust Persecution, and that by the meer Clemency and Goodness of the Queen, my Obligation to her Majesty's Goodness, was far from being made less than it was before.

I have now run through the History of my Obligation to her Majesty, and to the Person of my Benefactor aforesaid. I shall state every thing that follow'd this with all the Clearness I can, and leave my self lyable to as little Cavil as I may; for I see my self assaulted by a sort of People who will do me no justice. I hear a Great Noise made of Punishing those that are GUILTY, but as I said before not one Word of Clearing those that are INNOCENT; and I must say in this Part, they Treat me not only as if I were no Christian, but as if they themselves were not Christians. They will neither prove the Charge, nor hear the Defence; which is the unjustest thing in the World.

I foresee what will be alledged to the Clause of my Obligation &c., to Great Persons: And I resolve to give my Adversaries all the Advantage they can desire, by acknowledging before hand, That *no Obligation to the QUEEN*,

or to any Benefactor, can justify any Man's acting against the Interest of his Country, against his Principles, his Conscience, and his former Profession.

I think this will Anticipate all that can be said upon that Head, and it will then remain to state the Fact as I am, or am not Chargeable with it; which I shall do as clearly as possible in few words.

It is none of my Work to enter into the Conduct of the Queen or of the Ministry in this Case, the Question is not what *they have done*, but what *I have done*? And tho' I am very far from thinking of them as some other People think, yet for the sake of the present Argument, I am to give them all up, and Suppose, *tho' not Granting* that all which is suggested of them by the worst Temper, the most censorious Writer, the most scandalous Pamphlet or Lampoon should be True, and I'll go through some of the Particulars, as I meet with them in Publick.

1st. That they made a Scandalous Peace, unjustly Broke the Allyance, Betray'd the Confederates, and Sold us all to the *French*.

God forbid it should be all Truth, in the manner that we see it in Print; But that, I say, is none of my Business—*But what hand had I in all this?* I never wrote one word for the Peace *before it was made*, or to Justify it *after it was made*, let them produce it if they can! Nay, in a *Review* upon that Subject, while it was making I Printed it in plainer Words than other Men durst Speak it at that Time, That *I did not like the Peace*, nor did I like any Peace that was making, since that of the PARTITION, and that the Protestant Interest was not taken Care of, either in that or the Treaty of *Gertrudinburgh* before it.

It is true, that I did say, That since the Peace was made, and we could not help it, that it was our Business and our Duty to make the best of it, to make the utmost Advantage of it by Commerce, Navigation, and all kind of Improvement that we could, and this I SAY STILL; and I must think it is more our Duty to do so, than the Exclamations against the thing it self which it is not in our power to Retrieve. This is all the worst Enemy I have can Charge me with: *After the Peace was made*, and the *Dutch* and the Emperor stood out, I gave my Opinion of what I foresaw would necessarily be the Consequence of that Difference, (*viz.*) That it would inevitably involve these Nations in a War with one or other of them; *any one* who was Master of Common Sense in the publick Affairs, might see that the standing out of the *Dutch* could have no other Event: For if the Confederates had Conquer'd the *French*, they would certainly have fallen upon us by way of Resentment, and there was no doubt, but the same Councils that led us to make a Peace, would Oblige us to maintain it, by preventing too great Impressions upon the *French*.

On the other hand, I alledged, that should the *French* prevail against the *Dutch*, unless he stopt at such Limitations of Conquest as the Treaty oblig'd him to do, we must have been under the same necessity to renew the War against *France*; And for this Reason, seeing we had made a Peace, we were oblig'd to bring the rest of the Confederates into it, and to bring the *French* to give them all such Terms as they ought to be satisfied with.

This way of Arguing was either so little Understood, or so much Malign'd, that I suffer'd innumerable Reproaches in Print, for having Written for a War with the *Dutch*, which was neither in the Expression, or ever in my

Imagination: But I pass by these Injuries as small and trifling compar'd to others I suffer'd under.

However, one thing I must say of the Peace, *Let it be Good or Ill in it self*, I cannot but think we have all reason to Rejoyce in behalf of his Present Majesty, That at his accession to the Crown, He found the Nation in Peace; and had the Hands of the King of *France* tied up by a Peace, so as not to be able, without the most infamous breach of Articles, to offer the least Disturbance to his taking a Quiet and Leisurely possession, or so much as to Countenance those that would.

Not but that I believe, if the War had been at the height, we should have been able to have preserved the Crown for his present Majesty, its only Rightful Lord: But I will not say it should have been so Easy, so Bloodless, so Undisputed as now, and all the Difference must be acknowledged to the Peace, and this is all the Good I ever yet said of the Peace.

I come next to the general Clamour of *the Ministry being for the Pretender*; I must speak my Sentiments solemnly and plainly, as I always did in that matter, (*viz.*) That if it was so, I did not see it, nor did I ever see Reason to believe it; This I am sure of, that if it was so, I never took one step in that kind of Service, nor did I ever hear one Word spoken by any one of the Ministry that I had the Honour to know or Converse with, that favour'd the Pretender; But have had the Honour to hear them all Protest that there was no Design to Oppose the Succession of *Hanover* in the least.

It may be Objected to me, That they might be in the Interest of the Pretender for all that: *It is true they might*; But that is nothing to me, I am not Vindicating their Conduct, but my own; As I never was Employ'd in any thing that way, so I do still protest, I do not believe it was

ever in their Design, and I have many Reasons to confirm my Thoughts in that Case, which are not material to the present Case: But be that as it will, it is enough to me that I acted nothing in any such Interest, neither did I ever Sin against the Protestant Succession of *Hanover* in Thought, Word, or Deed; and if the Ministry did, I did not see it, or so much as suspect them of it.

It was a Disaster to the Ministry, to be driven to the Necessity of taking that Set of Men by the hand, who, nobody can deny, were in that Interest: But as the former Ministry answer'd, when they were charg'd with a Design to overthrow the Church, because they favour'd, joyn'd with, and were united to the *Dissenters*; I say they answer'd *That they made use of the Dissenters, but granted them nothing* (WHICH BY THE WAY WAS TOO TRUE:) So these Gentlemen Answer, *That it is true, they made use of Jacobites, but did nothing for them.*

But *this by-the-by*. Necessity is pleaded by both Parties for doing things which neither Side can justify. I wish both Sides would for ever avoid the Necessity of doing Evil; for certainly it is the worst plea in the World, and generally made use of for the worst Things.

I have often lamented the Disaster which I saw, employing *Jacobites*, was to the late Ministry, and certainly it gave the greatest Handle to the Enemies of the Ministry to fix that universal Reproach upon them of being in the Interest of the *Pretender*: But there was no Medium. The *Whigs* refused to shew them a safe Retreat, or to give them the least Opportunity to take any other Measures but at the Risque of their own Destruction; and they ventur'd upon that Course, in hopes of being able to stand alone at last without help of either the one or the other, in which no doubt they were mistaken.

However, in this Part, as I was always assur'd, and

have good Reason still to believe, that her Majesty was steady in the Interest of the House of *Hanover*, and that nothing was ever offer'd to me, or requir'd of me to the Prejudice of that Interest, On what Ground can I be reproach'd with the secret reserv'd Designs of any, if they have such Designs as I still verily believe they had not?

I see there are some Men who would fain perswade the World, that every Man that was in the Interest of the late Ministry, or employ'd by the late Government, or that serv'd the late Queen, was for the *Pretender*.

God forbid this should be true; and I think there needs very little to be said in Answer to it. I can answer for myself, that it is notoriously false; and I think the easy and uninterrupted Accession of his Majesty to the Crown contradicts it: I see no End which such a Suggestion aims at, but to leave an Odium upon all that had any Duty or Regard to her late Majesty.

A Subject is not always Master of his Sovereign's Measures, nor always to examine what Persons or Parties the Prince he serves, Employs; so be it that they break not in upon the Constitution; that they govern according to Law, and that he is employ'd in no illegal Act, or has nothing desir'd of him inconsistent with the Liberties and Laws of his Country: If this be not right, then a Servant of the King's is in a worse Case than a Servant to any private Person.

In all these things I have not err'd, neither have I acted or done any thing in the whole Course of my Life, either in the Service of her Majesty, or of her Ministry, that any one can say has the least Deviation from the strictest Regard to the Protestant Succession, and to the Laws and Liberties of my Country.

I never saw an Arbitrary Action offer'd at, a Law Dispens'd with, Justice deny'd, or Oppression set up, either by Queen or Ministry, in any Branch of the Administration, wherein I had the least Concern.

If I have sin'd against the *Whigs*, it has been all NEGATIVELY, (*viz.*) that I have not joyn'd in the loud Exclamations against the Queen, and against the Ministry, and against the Measures; and if this be my Crime, my Plea is twofold.

1. I did not really see Cause for carrying their Complaints to that violent Degree.

2. Where I did see what, as before, I lamented and was sorry for, and could not joyn with, or approve, as joyning with *Jacobites*, the *Peace*, &c. My Obligation is my Plea for my silence.

I have all the good Thoughts of the Person, and good Wishes for the Prosperity of my Benefactor, that Charity, and that Gratitude, can inspire me with: I ever believ'd him to have the true Interest of the Protestant Religion, and of his Country in his view; if it should be otherwise, I should be very sorry. And I must repeat it again, that he always left me so entirely to my own Judgment in every thing I did, that he never prescrib'd to me what I should write, or should not write in my Life; neither did he ever concern himself to dictate to, or restrain me in any kind; nor did he see any one Tract that I ever wrote before it was Printed: So that all the Notion of my writing by his Direction, is as much a Slander upon him, as it is possible any thing of that kind can be; and if I have written any thing which is offensive, unjust, or untrue, I must do that

Justice as to declare, He has had no hand in it; the Crime is my own.

As the Reproach of his directing me to write, is a Slander UPON THE PERSON I am speaking of; so that of my receiving Pensions and Payments from him for writing, is a Slander UPON ME; and I speak it with the greatest Sincerity, Seriousness, and Solemnity that it is possible for a Christian Man to speak, That except the Appointment I mention'd before, which her Majesty was pleas'd to make me formerly, and which I receiv'd during the time of my Lord *Godolphin's* Ministry, I have not receiv'd of the late Lord Treasurer, or of any one else by his Order, Knowledge, or Direction, one Farthing, or the Value of a Farthing, during his whole Administration; nor has all the Interest I have been suppos'd to have in his Lordship, been able to procure me the Arrears due to me in the time of the other Ministry. SO HELP ME GOD.

I am under no Necessity of making this Declaration. The Services I did, and for which her Majesty was pleas'd to make me a small Allowance, are known to the greatest Men in the present Administration; and some of them were then of the Opinion, and I hope are so still, that I was not unworthy of her Majesty's Favour. The Effect of those Services, however small, are enjoy'd by those Great Persons, and by the whole Nation, to this Day; and I had the Honour once to be told, *That they should never be forgotten*. It is a Misfortune, that no Man can avoid, to forfeit for his Deference to the Person and Services of his Queen, to whom he was inexpressibly oblig'd: And if I am fallen under the Displeasure of the PRESENT Government, for any thing I ever did in Obedience to her Majesty in THE PAST, I may say it is my Disaster; but I can never say it is my Fault.

This brings me again to that other Oppression which as I said, I suffer under, and which, I think, is of a Kind, that no Man ever suffer'd under so much as my self: And this is to have every Libel, every Pamphlet, be it ever so foolish, so malicious, so unmannerly, or so dangerous, be laid at my Door, and be call'd publickly by my Name. It has been in vain for me to struggle with this Injury; It has been in vain for me to protest, to declare solemnly, nay, if I would have sworn that I had no hand in such a Book, or Paper, never saw it, never read it, and the like, it was the same thing.

My Name has been hackney'd about the Street by the Hawkers, and about the Coffee-Houses by the Politicians, at such a rate, as no Patience could bear. One Man will swear to the Style; another to this or that Expression; another to the Way of Printing; and all so positive, that it is to no purpose to oppose it.

I publish'd once, to stop this way of using me, that I would Print nothing but what I set my Name to, and I held [to] it for a Year or Two; but it was all one, I had the same Treatment. I now have resolv'd, for some time, to write nothing at all; and yet I find it the same thing. Two Books lately publish'd being call'd mine, for no other reason that I know of, than that, at the Request of the Printer, I revised two Sheets of them at the Press, and that they seem'd to be written in Favour of a certain Person; which Person also, as I have been assur'd, had no Hand in them, or any Knowledge of them, till they were publish'd in print.

This is a Flail which I have no Fence against, but to complain of the Injustice of it, and that is but *the shortest Way* to be treated with more Injustice.

There is a mighty Charge against me for being Author and Publisher of a Paper call'd, *the MERCATOR*.

I'll state the Fact first, and then speak to the Subject.

It is true, that being desir'd to give my Opinion in the Affair of the Commerce with France, I did, as I often had done in Print many Years before, declare, That it was my Opinion we ought to have open Trade with *France*, because I did believe we might have the Advantage by such a Trade; and of this Opinion I am still. What Part I had in the *Mercator*, is well known; and would Men Answer with Argument, and not with personal Abuses, I would, at any time, defend every Part of the *Mercator* which was of my doing. But to say the *Mercator* was mine, is false; I neither was the Author of it, had the Property of it, the Printing of it, or the Profit by it. I had never any Payment or Reward for writing any Part of it; Nor had I the Power to put what I would into it: Yet the whole Clamour fell upon me, because they knew not who else to load with it. And when they came to Answer, the Method was, instead of Argument, to threaten, and reflect upon me; reproach me with private Circumstances and Misfortunes, and give Language which no Christian ought to give, and which no Gentleman ought to take.

I thought any *Englishman* had the Liberty to speak his Opinion in such things; for this had nothing to do with the Publick. The Press was open to me as well as to others; and how, or when I lost my *English* Liberty of speaking my Mind, I know not; neither how my speaking my Opinion without Fee or Reward could authorize them to call me Villain, Rascal, Traytor, and such opprobrious Names.

It was ever my Opinion, and is so still, that were our Wooll kept from *France*, and our Manufactures spread in *France* upon reasonable Duties, all the Improvement which the *French* have made in Woolen Manufactures would decay, and in the End be little Worth, and conse-

quently the Hurt they could do us by them, would be of little Moment.

It was my Opinion, and is so still, that the Ninth Article of the Treaty of *Commerce* was calculated for the Advantage of our Trade, let who will make it, *that is nothing to me*: My Reasons are, because it TYED up the *French* to open the Door to our Manufactures at a certain Duty of Importation THERE, and left the Parliament of *Britain* at Liberty to shut theirs out by as high Duties as they pleas'd HERE, there being no Limitation upon us as to Duties on *French* Goods; *but that other Nations should pay the same*.

While the *French* were thus bound, and the *British* free, I always thought we must be in a Condition to Trade to Advantage, or it must be our own Fault: That was my Opinion, and IS SO STILL, and I would venture to maintain it against any Man upon a publick Stage, before a Jury of fifty Merchants, and venture my Life upon the Cause, if I were assured of fair Play in the Dispute. But that it was my Opinion, That we might carry on a Trade with *France* to our great Advantage, and that we ought for that Reason to Trade with them, appears in the Third Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Volume of the *Reviews*, above Nine Year before the *Mercator* was thought of; it was not thought Criminal to say so then, how it comes to be Villainous to say so now God knows, I can give no account of it; I am still of the same Opinion, and shall never be brought to say otherwise, unless I see the state of Trade so altered, as to alter my Opinion; and if ever I do, I will be able to give good Reasons for it.

The Answer to these things, whether mine or no, was all pointed at me, and the Arguments were generally in the Terms of Villain, Rascal, Miscreant, Lyer, Bankrupt, Fellow, Hireling, Turn-Coat, &c. what the Arguments

were better'd by these Methods, that I leave to others to Judge of. Also most of those things in the *Mercator*, for which I had such Usage, were such as I was not the Author of.

I do grant, had all the Books which have been called by my Name been written by me, I must of Necessity have exasperated every Side, and perhaps have deserved it; but I have the greatest Injustice imaginable in this Treatment, as I have in the perverting the Design of what really I have written. To sum up therefore my Complaint in few Words:

I was from my first entring into the Knowledge of publick Matters, and have ever been to this Day, a sincere Lover of the Constitution of my Country; zealous for Liberty, and the Protestant Interest; but a constant Follower of moderate Principles, a vigorous Opposer of hot Measures in all Parties: I never once changed my Opinion, my Principles, or my Party; and let what will be said of changing Sides, this I maintain, That I never once deviated from the Revolution Principles, nor from the Doctrine of Liberty and Property, on which it was founded.

I own I could never be convinc'd of the great *Danger* of the PRETENDER, in the Time of the late Ministry: Nor can I be now convinc'd of the great *Danger* of the CHURCH under this Ministry. I believe the Cries of the one was politically made use of then to serve other Designs; and I plainly see the like Use made of the other now. I spoke my Mind freely then, and I have done the like now, in a small Tract to that Purpose not yet made publick, and which, if I live to publish, I will publickly own, as I purpose to do, every thing I write, that my Friends may know when I am abused, and they impos'd on.

It has been the Disaster of all Parties in this Nation to

be very HOT in their Turn, and as often as they have been SO, I have differed with themall, and ever must and shall do so. I'll repeat some of the Occasions on the *Whigs* Side, because from that Quarter the Accusation of my turning about comes.

The first Time I had the Misfortune to differ with my Friends, was about the Year 1683, when the *Turks* were besieging *Vienna*, and the *Whigs* in *England*, generally speaking, were for the *Turks* taking it; which I having read the History of the Cruelty and perfidious Dealings of the *Turks* in their Wars, and how they had rooted out the Name of the Christian Religion in above Threescore and Ten Kingdoms, could by no means agree with: and tho' then but a young Man, and a younger Author, I opposed it, and wrote against it; which was taken very unkindly indeed.

The next Time I differed with my Friends was when King *James* was wheedling the *Dissenters* to take off the Penal Laws and Test, which I could by no means come into. And as *in the first* I used to say, I had rather the Popish House of *Austria* should ruin the Protestants in *Hungaria*, than the Infidel House of *Ottoman* should ruin both Protestant and Papist, by over-running *Germany*; So in the other, I told the *Dissenters* I had rather the Church of *England* should pull our Cloaths off by Fines and Forfeitures, than the Papists should fall both upon the *Church*, and the *Dissenters*, and pull our Skins off by Fire and Fagot.

The *next* Difference I had with good Men, was about the scandalous Practice of *Occasional Conformity*, in which I had the Misfortune to make many honest Men angry, rather because I had the better of the Argument, than because they disliked what I said.

And now I have lived to see the *Dissenters* themselves very quiet, if not very well pleased with an Act of Parliament to prevent it. Their Friends indeed laid it on; they would be Friends indeed if they would talk of taking it off again.

Again, I had a Breach with honest Men for their Male-treating King *William*; of which I say nothing: Because, I think, they are now opening their Eyes, and making what amends they can to his Memory.

The *fifth* Difference I had with them, was about the *Treaty of Partition*, in which many honest Men were mistaken, and in which I told them plainly then, That they would at last End the War upon *worse Terms*; and so it is my Opinion they would have done, tho' the *Treaty of Gertrudenburg* had taken place.

The sixth Time I differed with them, was when the *Old Whigs* fell upon the *Modern Whigs*; and when the Duke of *Marlborough* and my Lord *Godolphin* were used by the *Observer* in a Manner worse, *I must confess for the Time it lasted*, than ever they were used since; nay, tho' it were by *Abel* and the *Examiner*: But the Success failed. In this Dispute my Lord *Godolphin* did me the Honour to tell me, *I had served him, and his Grace also, both faithfully and successfully*. But his Lordship is Dead, and I have now no Testimony of it but what is to be found in the *Observer*, where I am plentifully abused for being an Enemy to my Country, by acting in the Interest of my Lord *Godolphin*, and the Duke of *Marlborough*: *What Weather-Cock can Turn with such Tempers as these!*

I am now in *the seventh* Breach with them, and my Crime now is, That I will not believe and say the same things of the *Queen*, and the late *Treasurer*, which I could not believe before of my Lord *Godolphin*, and the Duke of

Marlborough, and which in Truth I cannot believe, and therefore could not say it of either of them; and which, if I had believed, yet I ought not to have been the Man that should have said it, for the Reasons aforesaid.

In such Turns of Tempers and Times a Man must be tenfold *a Vicar of Bray*, or it is impossible but he must one Time or other be out with every Body. This is my present Condition, and for this I am reviled with having abandon'd my Principles, turn'd *Jacobite*, and what not: God Judge between me and these Men. Would they come to any Particulars with me, what real Guilt I may have I would freely acknowledge; and if they would produce any Evidence of the Bribes, the Pensions, and the Rewards I have taken, I would declare honestly, whether they were true or no. If they would give a List of the Books which they charge me with, and the Reasons why they lay them at my Door, I would acknowledge any Mistake, own what I have done, and let them know what I have not done. But these Men neither shew Mercy, or leave place for Repentance, in which they act not only unlike their Maker, but contrary to his express Commands.

It is true, good Men have been used thus in former times; and all the Comfort I have is, that these Men have not the last Judgment in their Hands, if they had, dreadful would be the Case of those who oppose them. But that Day will shew many Men and Things also in a different State from what they may now appear in; some that now appear clear and fair, will then be seen to be black and foul; and some that are now thought black and foul, will then be approved and accepted; and thither I chearfully appeal, concluding this Part in the Words of the Prophet *I heard the Defaming of many; Fear on every side; Report*

say they, *and we will Report it; All my familiars watch'd for my halting, saying; Peradventure he will be enticed, and we shall prevail against him, and we shall take our Revenge on him,* Jerem. 20. 10.

Mr. *Pool's Annotations* has the following Remarks on these Lines, which, I think, are so much to that Part of my Case, which is to follow that I could not omit them. His Words are these:

'The Prophet, *says he*, here rendreth a Reason why he
'thought of giving over his Work as a Prophet; his Ears
'were continually filled with the Obloquies and Reproa-
'ches of such as reproached him; and besides, he was afraid
'on all Hands, there were so many Traps laid for him, so
'many Devises devised against him. They did not only
'take Advantage against him, but sought Advantages, and
'invited others to raise Stories of him. Not only Strangers,
'but those that he might have expected the greatest Kind-
'ness from; those that pretended most courteously, they
'watch, *says he*, for opportunities to do me Mischief, and
'lay in wait for my Halting, desiring nothing more than
'that I might be enticed to speak, or do something which
'they might find Matter of a colourable Accusation, that
'so they might satisfie their Malice upon me. This hath
'always been the Genius of wicked Men; *Job* and *David*,
'both made Complaints much like this. These are Mr.
Pool's Words. —

And this leads me to several Particulars, in which my Case may, without any Arrogance, be likened to that of the Sacred Prophet; excepting only the vast Disparity of the Persons.

No sooner was the Queen Dead, and the King as Right required, proclaim'd, but the Rage of Men encreased upon me to that Degree, that the Threats and Insults I

receiv'd were such as I am not able to express: If I offered to say a word in favour of the present Settlement, it was called fawning and turning round again; on the other hand, tho' I have meddled neither one way or other, nor written one Book since the Queen's Death, yet a great many things are call'd by my Name, and I bear every Day the Reproaches which all the Answerers of those Books cast as well upon the Subject as the Authors. I have not seen or spoken to my Lord of *Oxford* but once since the King's Landing, nor receiv'd the least Message, Order, or Writing from his Lordship, or any other way Corresponded with him, yet he bears the Reproach of my Writing in his Defence, and I the Rage of Men for doing it. I cannot say it is no Affliction to me to be thus used, tho' my being entirely clear of the Facts, is a true support to me.

I am unconcerned at the Rage and Clamour of *Partymen*; but I cannot be unconcern'd to hear Men, who I think are good Men and good Christians, prepossess'd and mistaken about me: However I cannot doubt but some time or other It will please God to open such Mens Eyes. A constant, steady adhering to *Personal Vertue*, and to *Publick Peace*, which, I thank God, I can appeal to him, has always been my Practice; will AT LAST restore me to the Opinion of Sober and Impartial Men, and that is all I desire: What it will do with those who are resolutely Partial and Unjust I cannot say, neither is that much my Concern. But I cannot forbear giving one Example of the hard Treatment I receive, which has happened, even while I am Writing this Tract: I have six Children, I have Educated them as well as my Circumstances will permit, and so as I hope shall recommend them to better Usage than their Father meets with in the World. I am not indebted One Shilling in the World for any part of their

Education, or for any thing else belonging to bringing them up; yet the Author of the *Flying-Post* Published lately, That I never pay'd for the Education of any of my Children. If an[y] Man in *Britain* has a Shilling to demand of me for any part of their Education, or any thing belong[ing] to them, let him come for it.

But these Men care not what Injurious Things they Write, nor what they Say, whether Truth or Not, if it may but raise a Reproach on me, tho' it were to be my Ruine. I may well Appeal to the Honour and Justice of my worst Enemies in such Cases as this.

Conscia Mens Recti fama[e] Mendacia Ridet.

CONCLUSION BY THE PUBLISHER

WHILE this was at the Press, and the Copy thus far finish'd, the Author was seiz'd with a violent Fit of an Apoplexy, whereby he was disabled finishing what he design'd in his farther Defence, and continuing now for above Six Weeks in a Weak and Languishing Condition, neither able to go on, or likely to recover, at least in any short time, his Friends thought it not fit to delay the Publication of this any longer; if he recovers, he may be able to finish what he began; if not, it is the Opinion of most that know him, that the Treatment which he here complains of, and some others that he would have spoken of, have been the apparent Cause of his Disaster.

FINIS

NOTES TO THE POOR MAN'S PLEA

The Preface. *Reformation of Manners*.

About 1695, *Societies for the Reformation of Manners*, countenanced by great numbers of the Nobility, Judges, and Gentry, were formed in London, Westminster, Gloucester, Leicester, Shrewsbury, and other places throughout the Kingdom. The object of these Societies was the enforcement of the existing laws against vice and profaneness; and an account of them by Josiah Woodward was published in 1699. In a report of these Societies issued in 1723, it is claimed that "great numbers of Bawdy-houses . . . have been suppressed and shut up, and the Streets very much purged from the wretched Tribe of *Night-walking Prostitutes*, and *most detestable Sodomites*." Defoe had a decided itch for reform, and allusions to it are continually cropping up in his writings. In his satire, *The Reformation of Manners*, 1702, he throws much of the matter of *The Poor Man's Plea* into crude, unlicked verse.

Page 1. *than all the Victories of this Bloody War, or the glory of this Honourable Peace.*

The treaty of Ryswick (Sept. 1697) terminated the War which had begun in 1689, between France, and the Coalition composed of the Empire, Spain, England, Brandenburg and Holland.

Page 3. *the Book of Sports*

The name generally given to the *Declaration* of James I, in 1618, permitting "any lawful recreation, such as dancing, either men or women, archery for men, leaping, vaulting, May-Games, Whitsun-ales, etc." after the Church Service on Sunday. In 1633, Charles I republished his father's *Declaration of Sports*, and the clergy were ordered to read it from the pulpit.

This was the first thing the Queen set upon while the King was engaged in his Wars abroad:

On July 9, 1691, Queen Mary, in the absence of the King in Holland, addressed a letter to the Middlesex Justices of the Peace recommending them to put "in execution, with all fidelity

and impartiality, those Laws which have been made, and are still in force, against Prophanation of the *Lord's Day*, Drunkenness, Prophane-Swearing and Cursing, and all other Lewd, Enormous, and Disorderly Practices, etc."

The King . . . in his very first Speech, etc.

In response to a Humble Address presented by the House of Commons, Feb. 17, 1697/8, the King issued a Proclamation on Feb. 24th, For preventing and punishing Immorality and Prophaneness. A copy of this Proclamation, and of the Queen's Letter, is prefixed to Woodward's *Account of the Societies for Reformation of Manners*. There was a previous Proclamation against Vicious, Debauched, and Prophane Persons, in Feb. 1691/2.

Page 6. *The Man with a Gold Ring, and Gay Cloaths*.

A very pertinent reference to the *Epistle of James*, Chap. II. v. 2.

NOTES TO THE TRUE-BORN ENGLISHMAN

Page 29. *I expect a Storm of Ill Language*.

Defoe was not disappointed, for his satire provoked many replies, both in prose and verse. The writer of one of these, called *The True-Born Englishman. A Satyr, Answered Paragraph by Paragraph*, had so little critical insight as to attribute the offending poem to John Toland. Another writer had at least the gift of penning an arresting title—altho' most of his wit was spilt there—for his reply was called *The Fable of the Cuckoo: or the Sentence on the Ill-Bird that defiled his own Nest. Shewing in a Dissenter's Dream, some Satyrical Reflections on a late Infamous Libel, call'd The True-Born Englishman*. The term "true-born Englishman" became a catchword, and in a book of Select Fables in Verse, entitled *Chaucer's Whims*, 1701, Defoe's satire is reduced to a dispute between an ass and a mule, and the moral appended to the fable opens as follows:

“Look on this Land that makes her boast,
A certain Author cries;
Her Sons are mongrels at the most,
Whom none for Birth can prize.”

Page 31. *But when the Sov'reign Balsam's once apply'd,
The Zealot never fails to change his Side;
And when he must the Golden Key resign*

This is a home-thrust at Robert, Earl of Sunderland (1641–1702) a favourite of James II, and a Minister during most of his reign. “But the ruin of James,” writes J. R. Green, “was no sooner certain than he had secured pardon and protection from William by the betrayal of the master to whom he had sacrificed his conscience and honour.” The *Golden Key* was the badge of the Lord Chamberlain, which office Sunderland resigned in December, 1697, “apprehending,” says a contemporary chronicler, “his being called to Account by the Commons.”

Page 33. *no Standing-Army Government;*

After the Treaty of Ryswick had been signed, there was a strong movement to disband the Army, more particularly K. William's Dutch Guards, whom the King wished to retain. Much ink was spilt on both sides of the controversy, and Defoe himself replied to John Trenchard, who had written a pamphlet to shew “that a Standing-Army is inconsistent with a Free Government, etc.”

Lords Justices

This was the title given to those appointed by the King to act as regents during his visits to Holland. From 1695 to 1697, many proclamations were issued by the Lords Justices.

Page 38. *No Re-assumptions in his Reign were known,
Davenant might there ha' let his Book alone.*

On December 15th, 1699, the House of Commons resolved to bring in a Bill of Resumption, to apply all the forfeited Estates, etc. in Ireland, and all Grants thereof, and of the Revenues of the Crown there, since the 13th of February, 1688, to the use of the

public. Charles Davenant (1656–1714) wrote a *Discourse upon Grants and Resumptions*, 1700.

Page 39 (footnote). *Dr. Sherlock, de Facto*.

William Sherlock (1641–1707), a clergyman, was suspended in 1689 for refusing to take the oath of allegiance to William and Mary, but submitted later on the plea that the Church of England recognised a Government *de facto*, a position which he maintained in his *Case of Allegiance*, 1691.

Page 40. *David at Hackelah was still their Head*.

See 1 *Sam.* xxiii, 19. This phrase also occurs in *A Supplement to the Faults on Both Sides*, 1710, a tract which has been attributed to Defoe. Speaking of the state of affairs at the beginning of the reign of William III, he says “King *James* was not so ill-beloved but he left some behind that adhered to his Interests; to these, as to *David* at Hackelah, all that were discontent or uneasy at anything, joyn’d themselves.”—(*Op. cit.*, page 16.)

Page 41. *Bold Strafford, Cambridge, Capel, Lucas, Lisle,
Who crown’d in Death his Father’s [King Charles’]
Fun’ral Pile.*

Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, executed at London, on May 12, 1641. Sir Charles Lucas, a royalist, shot, with Sir George Lisle, after the surrender of Colchester to the Parliamentary Forces, 28 August, 1648. Lord Arthur Capel was also captured at Colchester in 1648, but escaped from the Tower, only to be retaken, and beheaded on the 9th March, 1649.

*Six Bastard Dukes survive his Luscious Reign,
The Labours of Italian Castlemaine,
French Portsmouth, Taby Scot, and Cambrian.*

Barbara Villiers, Lady Castlemaine (1640–1709) mistress of Charles II, by whom she became the mother of the dukes of Cleveland, Grafton, and Northumberland. Louise Renée de Kéroualle, Duchess of Portsmouth (1649–1739) became mistress of Charles II in 1671, and bore him a son in July, 1672, who was created Duke of Richmond. The other dukes were

Monmouth, son of Lucy Walters [the Cambrian], and St. Albans, the son of Nell Gwyn, who is probably Defoe's *Taby Scot*.

Schomberg and Portland, *new made Noblemen*.

Frederick Hermann, Duke of Schomberg, (1615-90), born at Heidelberg. William III made him K.G., duke, and commander in Ireland in 1689. He fell at the Battle of the Boyne, July 1, 1690. William Bentinck, first Earl of Portland (1649-1709), a friend from boyhood of William III, created an English Peer in 1689.

Page 48. *our* Asgilites

John Asgill (1659-1738), an eccentric writer, the author of *An Argument proving that . . . man may be translated from hence without passing through death*, etc. This publication raised an outcry against the author as an infidel and blasphemer.

Page 52. Shamwhig *pretends*

Shamwhig is John Tutchin, the author of *The Foreigners: A Poem*, 1700, the poem which provoked Defoe to write *The True-Born Englishman* (see Defoe's statement on page 195 of the present volume). The whole of the passage on Tutchin was omitted from the second and subsequent editions of this satire. John Dunton in his *Life and Errors*, has several references to Tutchin, whom he apostrophises in his characteristic fashion as "the loyal and ingenious Tutchin (alias Master *Observator*); the bold asserter of English Liberties; the scourge of the High-Flyers; . . . the scorn and terror of Fools and Knaves . . . he writes with the air of a Gentleman, and sincerity of a Christian; and I would *towel* him myself (or make his Countrymen do it) if I did not think him an honest man."

In a pamphlet entitled *A Supplement to the Faults on Both Sides* 1710, written in the form of a dialogue, and sometimes attributed to Defoe, there is an interesting reference to *The Foreigners*. The writer, in the person of *Turn-Round*, one of his characters, says: "I remember one Author did indeed reproach the King in a villainous Poem, call'd the *Foreigners*; He attack'd his Personal Be-

haviour, his morals, his Government, and all the *Dutch Nation*; which Book, they say gave Rise to *Daniel de Foe's True-Born-English-man*, a Poem, for which that Author has been continually Persecuted, and at last effectually ruin'd by that very Party."

*And Huffs the King, upon that very score,
On which he Panegyrick't him before.*

Tutchin wrote an Heroick Poem on King William III, in 1689.

Page 56. W[illiam] a Tyrant, and K[ing] J[ames] was not.

In the original edition, this line reads:

W[illiam] a Tyrant, S[underland] a Sot.

Page 63. *Were* Paid, and Curs'd, and Hurry'd home again.

On December 16, 1698/9, a resolution was passed in the House of Commons limiting the Land Forces of *England* in *English* pay to 7,000 men (consisting of his Majesty's natural born subjects) the remainder to be paid off forthwith and disbanded.

Page 65. *First to the French they sold our Turkey Fleet,
And Injur'd Talmash next, at Camaret.*

Admiral Rook, having a Turkey Fleet under his convoy, was surprised and defeated by the French off Cape St. Vincent on June 16, 1693. Treachery was suspected, and the House of Commons resolved, *That there had been a notorious and treacherous mismanagement in the miscarriage of the Smyrna Fleet.*

General Talmash was mortally wounded in the following year in an action off Brest. He believed himself betrayed. His last words were, "I die contented having done my Duty in the Service of a Good Prince; but I am very sorry the Government is betrayed."

A Modern Magistrate of Famous Note

Duncombe (Sir Charles) a banker and politician, probably of humble origin. He was apprenticed to Alderman Backwell (see page 67) and remained a city banker till August, 1695, when he sold all his effects in the Bank of England. He purchased the estate of Helmsley in Yorkshire for about £90,000. Pope speaks of this transfer of property in the couplet,

“And Helmsley, once proud Buckingham’s delight,
Slides to a scrivener or city-knight.”

He was knighted in 1699.

In 1698, when he was Receiver General of the Excise, he was accused with others of serious irregularities in the issue of exchequer bills. A Bill of Pains and Penalties was passed against him in the House of Commons, and a very large fine was imposed upon him. The Bill, however, was lost in the House of Lords by the casting vote of the Duke of Leeds, and Oldmixon (*Hist. of England*, 1735, page 174) adds that “it was commonly reported, that Mr. *Duncomb* dispell’d the impending storm by a golden sacrifice.”

Page 66 And good St. *Magnus*

Duncomb erected “a curious dial” in the Church of St. Magnus, near London Bridge, at the cost of £600.

NOTES TO THE HISTORY OF THE KENTISH PETITION and LEGION’S MEMORIAL

THE HISTORY OF THE KENTISH PETITION and LEGION’S MEMORIAL are documents of considerable historical importance. The petitioners “deeply Concern’d at the Dangerous Estate of this Kingdom, and of all Europe . . . hope that no Pretence whatsoever shall be able to Create . . . the least Distrust of His Majesty” and “most Humbly Implore this Honourable House . . . that Our Religion and Safety may be Effectually Provided for . . . and that His Most Sacred Majesty . . . may be Enabled Powerfully to Assist His Allies before it be too late.” The political situation which called forth this petition, was briefly as follows. The power of France under Louis XIV was a constant menace to

the peace of Europe, and especially to the Protestant countries of England and Holland. For many years the primary object of the policy of William III had been to preserve the balance of power in Europe. To prevent the addition of the strength of Spain to that of France, he had negotiated the Partition Treaties of 1698 and 1700, by which on the death of Charles II of Spain, his dominions were to be granted to the Archduke Charles, second son of Leopold I, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire with certain compensations to France. Charles II died in November, 1700, and it was found that he had by Will bequeathed his Kingdom to Philip Duke of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV. Louis, though he had signed the Partition Treaties, recognised Philip as King of Spain, and thereby nullified the life-work of the King of England. William's foreign policy had long been unpopular in England; it was thought, especially by the Tory party, that he was too ready to sacrifice the interests of this country to those of Holland; and when the Will of Charles II was made known, there was a general feeling in the country that the acceptance of its provisions would be less injurious than a continental war. On February 6th, 1701, a new Parliament met, with a large Tory majority; and on the same day Louis XIV, in a time of peace, seized the line of barrier fortresses (including Luxemburg, Mons, Namur and Ostend) which in effect constituted the protection of Holland against the aggression of France. There was an immediate reaction in this country against the French, and though the Tories agreed to furnish assistance to the Dutch, they were still bitterly hostile to William, and hampered him by delaying supplies, and by violent attacks on his policy with regard to the Partition Treaties (which had not been submitted to Parliament for approval) and on the Ministers who were held to be responsible for them. This involved the House of Commons in a long-drawn-out conflict with the Lords, and

the futility of these proceedings in a time of national danger may be held to justify the presentation of the Kentish Petition, which took place at this time; as the reception of the petition itself justifies the more outspoken clauses of Legion's Memorial. The effect of the latter seems to have been remarkable. "For this two reasons may be given. First, it was drawn up with telling force. In the second place, it accurately represented the feelings and the temper of the time . . . [to] the majority in the Commons [it] seemed as though a real Legion were in arms against them. Mr. Howe declared in the House that he was in danger of his life. Other Members talked as they might have done with a rebellion in prospect. An Address was carried to the King praying him to provide for the public peace and security; and a Committee was appointed to meet in the Speaker's chamber and to sit from day to day"—Stanhope's 'Queen Anne'. The Memorial, in fact, seems to have done much to establish the right of the subject to petition for the redress of grievances; a demand which was confirmed in the Bill of Rights, but which was in considerable danger of suppression from the growing power of Parliament.

The Preface.

Page 75. *that kind remark of Mr. J[ohn] H[ow]e.*

See *infra*, Note to page 83.

Page 76. *Nor my Name Sir Robert Clayton . . . to use my Interest to stifle a City Petition.*

Oldmixon in his *History of England*, during the Reign of King William III., quotes from Bishop Kennet to the effect that a number of prudent sober men were apt to think the Subject Matter of Legion's Memorial true. "The Court of Aldermen and Common Council of the City of London," he says, "were very near to the Coming into some Publick Declaration of the like Nature." By implication from Defoe's remark quoted above, we may gather that Sir Robert Clayton, who at this time represented the

City of London in Parliament, actively opposed this declaration. Sir Robert Clayton (1629-1707), was the son of a small farmer, but by his own exertions, aided by two considerable bequests, he had amassed a fortune sufficient to give him a commanding influence in the counsels of the corporation of London. See also *infra*, page 256.

Page 83. *Mr. How was then making a Speech against it.*

John Grubham Howe, or How, commonly known as "Jack How" was one of the most violent Tory opponents of William III. In the debates on the Partition Treaty "no man took a more active, it might be said, a more scurrilous, part against the Court than Mr. Howe," and on one occasion the King expressed a wish that he were a private gentleman that he might challenge Mr. Howe to a duel.

Page 85. *Mr. Speaker*

Robert Harley was elected Speaker of the Parliament which assembled on February 6, 1701. He was later a patron of Defoe and employed him in various political transactions. In the reign of Queen Anne he became successively Chancellor of the Exchequer, Earl of Oxford and Mortimer, and Lord High Treasurer.

Page 86. *the Statute of 13 CAR. 2. [Cap. V. A.D. 1661].*

This was "An Act against Tumults and Disorders, upon Pre-
tence of preparing or presenting publick Petitions, or other Ad-
dresses to His Majesty or the Parliament."

The Kentish Petitioners had carefully complied with the provisions of this Act, which laid down that "no Person shall . . . Petition for Alteration of Matters established by Law . . . unless the Matter thereof have been first consented unto . . . by three or more Justices . . . or by the major Part of the Grand Jury of the County . . . at their publick Assizes, or General Quarter-Sessions." But the right of "any Person or Persons, not exceeding the Number of Twenty, to present any publick or private Grievance or Complaint to any Member of Parliament" was expressly reserved.

Page 91. *The same Morning that Mr. Colepeper surrendred himself, The Legion Paper . . . was sent to the House;*

This was Wednesday, May 14th, 1701.

Page 92. *The Clashings with the upper House about the Tryal of the Four Peers they had Impeached*

The four peers were William Bentinck, first Earl of Portland; John, Lord Somers; Edward Russell, earl of Orford; Charles Montagu, Lord Halifax. "Great differences," says Salmon, "happened at this time [June, 1701] between the two Houses, as to their respective Rights of fixing the time for the Tryal of the impeached Lords, and other Proceedings in order to their Tryal."

Page 101. *And many a Russell we have sacrific'd.*

This may allude to the impeachment of Edward Russell, Earl of Orford (1651-1727). He was appointed Admiral of the Fleet in 1690, and two years later, he obtained a signal victory over the French under Tourville, off Cape *La Hogue*; and in 1695, he prevented the invasion of Britain by the French, under the expelled monarch James II. He was created Earl of Orford, as a reward for his services. In 1701, however, he was impeached by the House of Commons on charges of corruption, etc., but was ultimately acquitted. There is probably a further allusion to William Lord Russell (1639-1683), patriot and statesman, who was tried on a charge of high treason for alleged conspiracy against the life of K. James II, and beheaded on the 21st July, 1683.

Page 108. *Addressing the King to displace his Friends upon bare Surmises, before a Legal Tryal, etc.*

"Upon April 23rd, 1701, the Commons addressed his Majesty to remove from his Councils and Presence for ever, *John Lord Somers, Edward Earl of Orford, and Charles Lord Hallifax*, who advised that pernicious Partition Treaty, as also *William Earl of Portland*, who transacted it."—(Salmon, *The Chronological Historian*, 1733, page 241.)

Page 109. *Publickly neglecting the great work of Reformation of Manners, etc.*

See Notes to *The Poor Mans Plea*, *supra*.

NOTE TO THE SHORTEST WAY WITH THE DISSENTERS

Almost immediately upon the death of William III—who was regarded as the protector of the Dissenters—the Church Party raised a cry for the suppressing of the Dissenting Academies (at one of which Defoe himself was educated), and in November, 1702, a Bill for preventing occasional Conformity was brought into the House of Commons. This bitter temper against the Dissenters was unhappily fomented by some words in Her Majesty's [Q. Anne's] First Speech. She promised all her subjects Her Royal Protection; but went on to say that, "as Her Education and Choice had effectually ty'd her to the Church of ENGLAND, so those who were MOST ZEALOUS for that Church, would be the Persons she should most regard; and tho' she would give her Protection to all without distinction, yet those should have the greatest share in Her Favour." "These words MOST ZEALOUS," writes the author of A Supplement to the Faults on Both Sides, 1710, "being with eagerness snatch'd at by the High Tories, they construe to mean, the utter suppressing and extirpation of the Dissenters; and this set the warm men of that Party stark mad." "A clergyman named Henry Sacheverell was chosen to discharge the preliminary work of inflaming the passions of the people. . . . He was a man of hot and angry temperament," says H. S. Skeats in his History of the Free Churches, 1869, "unscrupulous in his language, and fierce in his denunciation, but totally destitute of either learning, education, or refinement. He had all the bad qualities of a demagogue united to all the worst qualities of a bigot."

In a sermon preached before the University of Oxford, on June 3, 1702, a few months before Defoe published The Shortest Way with the Dissenters, Sacheverell, speaking

of the Dissenters, said, "It is as unaccountable and amazing a contradiction to our reason as the greatest reproach and scandal upon our Church, however others may be seduced and misled, that any pretending to that sacred and inviolable character of being her true sons, pillars, and defenders, should turn such apostates and renegades to their oaths and professions, such false traitors to their trusts and offices, as to strike sail with a party that is such an open and avowed enemy to our communion, and against whom every man that wishes its welfare, ought to hang out the bloody flag and banner of defiance."

In a further sermon, also preached at Oxford, Sacheverell exclaims against the dissenting academies as being dangerous to the Church and State, and as "fountains of lewdness," from which were "spawned all descriptions of heterodox, lewd, and atheistical books." Samuel Wesley, the father of the celebrated John Wesley, in his Letter from a Country Divine, concerning the education of Dissenters in their Private Academies, etc., was equally as unscrupulous and abusive as Sacheverell himself. The mildest terms in which he could refer to the Dissenters were "villains," "hypocrites," and "murderers."

Replies to Wesley and Sacheverell were made by Mr. Samuel Palmer, a dissenting minister of Southwark, and Mr. James Owen, but it was Defoe who gave the shrewdest cut with The Shortest Way with the Dissenters, a piece of inimitable irony so delicate that, for a time, it deceived those against whom it was written, and they imagined it as a production of one of their own party, and hailed it as such.

Oldmixon tells a piquant story of a bookseller, "having an order from a Fellow of a College in Cambridge for a Parcel of Books, just at the time of publishing this Shortest Way, put up one of them in the Bundle, not doubting it would be

welcome to his Customer; who accordingly thanked him for packing so excellent a Treatise up with the rest, it being next to the Sacred Bible, and Holy Comments, the best book he ever saw; but understanding afterwards it was written by a Rank Independant, he rail'd at it as much as he had extoll'd it, and forbad his Bookseller to send him any more Pamphlets without particular Order." (Oldmixon, Hist. of England, etc., 1735, page 301).

When the true design of the pamphlet was discovered, the Government, hounded on by the rage of the clergy, sought to discover its author. Defoe was brought to trial at the Old Bailey on February 24, 1703, and was fined 200 marks, was sentenced to stand threetimes in the pillory, and to be imprisoned during the Queen's pleasure. Oldmixon adds that the Earl of Nottingham, then Secretary of State sent to, if he himself did not actually visit, Defoe in Newgate "to offer him Tory mercy, if he would discover who set him on to write his Shortest Way." The Earl of Nottingham is "a certain person" alluded to by Defoe in his Appeal to Honour and Justice (see page 200).

NOTES TO A HYMN TO THE PILLORY

Page 138. *How* Bastwick, Pryn, Hunt, Hollingsby and Pye

We have only been able to trace definitely the first two of these victims of the Pillory. Dr. John Bastwick (born 1593) wrote a work entitled *Flagellatum Pontifices et Episcoporum latialium* for which he was heavily fined, and thrown into the Gatehouse prison. Whilst still in prison, he wrote *Apologeticus ad presules Anglicanos*, and his *Letany*, in four parts, in which he taxed the bishops with Popery. For this latter publication, he was again sentenced to pay a large fine, to stand in the Pillory in Palace-Yard, lose his ears, and be imprisoned during life.

William Prynne (1600-1669), lawyer and antiquary, wrote

Histrion-mastix; the Player's Scourge, 1632-33, for which he was heavily fined, degraded and disenabled from his profession of the law, condemned to stand twice in the pillory, losing an ear each time, and to be imprisoned for life.

With Oats and Fuller, Men of later Fame:

Titus Oates (died 1705), an informer, who, in 1678, gave information of an alleged Popish Plot to assassinate Charles II. In 1685, he was convicted of perjury, and sentenced to stand in the Pillory five times a year during his life, "on the 9th of *August* before *Westminster-Hall* Gate; the 10th of *August* at *Charing-Cross*; and on the 11th over-against the *Temple*; and on the 2nd of *Sept.*, at the *Royal Exchange*; and on the 24th of *April* every year at *Tyburn*". No one will question his right to a niche amongst Defoe's victims.

William Fuller, another informer, who towards the end of 1691, brought a wrongful accusation of treason against many persons of high consideration. On January 7, 1692, he is voted by the Commons "a notorious cheat, impostor, and false accuser." In 1702, he was convicted in the *King's Bench* as an Impostor, and for publishing certain Libels, the one entitled *Original Letters of the late King James*; he was sentenc'd to stand three times in the Pillory, to be sent to the House of Correction, and to pay a Fine of 1000 Marks.

*Even the Learned Selden saw,
A Prospect of thee, thro' the Law:*

John Selden (1584-1654) a distinguished scholar and antiquary, who had an unhappy propensity for angering royalty, highly offending James I on two occasions at least, and his son, Charles I, once. It is probable that Defoe refers here to Selden's *History of Tythes*, 1618, which roused the choler of James I, and brought Selden before the Court of High Commission, where he was compelled to make public submission. Three years later, Selden found himself in prison by reason of his unsatisfactory attitude toward King James's assertion in his speech to parliament that "their

[parliamentary] privileges were grants from the crown." Selden was again in prison, during the reign of Charles I, on a charge of sedition. Thus though he did not actually stand in the pillory, he had its *lofty Pinnacles* in view.

Page 139. *the Fam'd S[achevere]ll*

See the note on *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters*.

Page 140. *They who let Pointi 'scape to Brest,
With all the Gods of Carthagen a blest,*

Jean-Bernard Desjeans, baron de Pointis, leader of the French fleet in the successful Expedition against Carthagen a, April 1697. On his return voyage to France, he was intercepted by an English fleet far superior in numbers, but by scattering his vessels he was able to escape; he arrived at Brest on June 29, with a vast plunder, variously estimated as from twelve to twenty million livres.

Those who betray'd our Turkey Fleet.

See page 244 (Note to page 65)

Page 141. *Their Deeds of War at Port Saint Mary's done.*

In August, 1702, in the expedition against Cadiz, the Duke of Ormond took possession of Port St. Mary's, where, in spite of the Duke's strict orders against plundering, his forces committed intolerable disorders, rifling the houses and churches, and ravishing the nuns, "which," adds Salmon, "gave the *Spaniards* such an Opinion of their Heretick Friends, that they could never be induced to join them."—(Salmon's *Chronological Historian*, 1723, page 252.)

The Vigo men should next appear.

On October 12th, 1702, "Sir *George Rook*, with the Confederate Fleet, attacked the French Fleet, commanded by Mons. *Chateaurenard*, and the *Spanish* Galleons in the Port of Vigo in Gallicia; while the Duke of Ormond landed his forces, and attacked the Castles that secured the Harbour. Admiral *Hopson* having broke through the Boom, that obstructed the Entrance of the Harbour, with in-

finite Hazard; the *English* took four Galleons and five large Men of War; and the *Dutch* five Galleons and a large Man of War; four other Galleons and about fourteen Men of War were destroy'd, with abundance of Plate, and rich Effects; and a considerable Quantity of Plate, and other Effects, were taken by the *English* and *Dutch*."—(Salmon. *Chronological Historian*, 1723, page 253.)

Defoe alludes to the acrimonious dispute which arose as to the value of the booty taken, and as to how it was disposed, as on a very modest estimate it must have been considerably more than was ever brought to public account in England and Holland.

Page 144. A[sgi]ll *who for the Gospel left the Law*

John Asgill (?1650-1738) a Barrister in the Temple, who leaving the deserts of arid legal study entered the flowery meads of curious religious speculation, and wrote a pamphlet to prove that man need not die, but may be translated 'a shorter way' into Eternal Life. Asgill was a favourite butt for Defoe's wit (see *supra* page 243) and in November, 1703, Defoe published an answer to the above-mentioned tract, entitled *An Enquiry into the Case of Mr. Asgill's General Translation; showing that 'tis not a nearer way to Heaven than the Grave*.

Page 146. Set L[ove]ll next to this Disgrace
With Whitney's Horses staring in his Face;

The allusion here is not very clear, but it probably refers to Sir Salathiel Lovell (?1619-1713) who in 1692 was elected Recorder of London. He was distinguished principally by his want of memory, and his title of recorder was converted into the nickname of Obliviscor of London.

James Whitney was a notorious highwayman, the most celebrated captain of banditti in the kingdom. According to Narcissus Luttrell's Diary, he offered on one occasion to bring in 80 stout men of his gang to the King's service, and on another occasion he offers to bring in 30 horse with as many stout men, to serve the King, if he may have his pardon. He was sentenced to death at

Old Bailey on January 19, 1692/3, and, after a short reprieve, he was executed at Porter's Block, near Cow Crosse, in Smithfield on February 2. According to a statement in the *Newgate Calendar*, the recorder Sir S[alathie]l L[ovell]e? made "an excellent speech" before passing sentence.

Sherlock's *Disciple*

William Sherlock, clergyman, born about 1641, successively rector of St. George, Botolph-lane, prebendary of St. Paul's, master of the Temple, dean of St. Paul's. See *supra*, page 242.

Page 148. *Let FLETTUMACY with his pompous Train*

Flettumacy and Diadora, whose identity we have been unable to discover, are also linked together by Defoe in his *Reformation of Manners, a Satyr*, 1702. Flettumacy is there classed amongst the brainless coxcombs:

"For *Flettumasy* never thinks at all:
Supinely sleeps in *Diadora's* Arms,
Doz'd with the Magick of her Craft and Charms;
The subtile Dame brought up in Vice's School,
Can love the Cully, tho' she hates the Fool."

Page 149. *Let C—— upon thy Borders spend his Life*
'Till he recants the Bargain with his Wife.

Defoe's *Reformation of Manners* again supplies a strikingly parallel passage, which is directed against Sir Robert Clayton, who figures very largely in *The Fortunate Mistress*, as financial adviser to *Roxana*.

"C[layto]n superbly wise and grave of life,
Could every one reform, except his Wife:
Passive in Vice, he pimps to his own Fate,
To shew himself a Loyal Magistrate
.
.
.
To boundless Avarice a constant Slave,
Unsatisfy'd as Death, and greedy as the Grave."

NOTES TO AN APPEAL TO HONOUR AND JUSTICE

The best commentary on this spirited tract of Defoe's in defence of his association with Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, and his Tory Administration (1710-1714) is provided by the numerous letters written by Defoe—either in his own name, or over his assumed names, Alexander Goldsmith and Claud Guilot—to Harley, Godolphin, and others, from 1703 to 1714. These letters will be found in the 4th and 5th volumes of the Historical MSS. Commission Report on the MSS. of his Grace the Duke of Portland, preserved at Welbeck Abbey, and are invaluable to the student of Defoe and of his connection with the political movements of this period. Much help too may be gained from E. S. Roscoe's Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, 1910. It being impossible in the space at our disposal to provide a detailed commentary on this tract we have subjoined a brief chronological table, which we trust will be of some help in reading this Apologia of Defoe's.

A SHORT CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

1700. August 1. Publication of *The Foreigners*, by John Tutchin.
1701. January. Defoe writes *The True-Born Englishman*, in reply to *The Foreigners*.
1702. March 8. Death of William III and the Accession of Anne.
- December 1. *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters* published.
1703. February 24. Defoe indicted at Old Bailey for writing *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters*, and at the Sessions, held July 7, 8 and 9, was sentenced to pay

a fine of 200 marks to the Queen, stand three times in the Pillory, be imprisoned during the Queen's pleasure; and find sureties for his good behaviour for seven years.

November 4. Godolphin writes to Robert Harley that he has taken care in the matter of Defoe, and five days later Defoe writes to Harley in a strain of profuse gratitude for his bounty and unexpected goodness, and expresses himself "ready to dedicate my life and all possible powers to the interest of so generous and so bountiful benefactors."—(*Portland MSS.*, Vol. IV, page 75.) What this bounty was is not explicitly stated, but we can probably link it up with the intervention of "a Person of Honour" (see page 199) on his behalf. Roscoe assumes from this letter, and other evidence, that Defoe was released from *Newgate* at this time, but it is difficult to reconcile this with Defoe's own statement that "I lay four Months in Prison after this" (page 200). Lee and other biographers place his release from prison as late as *August*, 1704, but we know from the Harley Letters (*Portland MSS.*, Vol. IV., page 33) that Defoe endeavoured twice to meet Harley personally in May, 1704, and that he (Defoe) was seen in Canterbury in *June* of that year. We think it probable that Defoe was released in *March* or *April*, 1704.

1704. *May 16.* Robert Harley succeeds Daniel Finch, Earl of Nottingham as Secretary of State.

In the summer of this year, Defoe was commissioned by Harley to travel through England, to diagnose the temper of the people in various localities, and to send in detailed reports.

1706. *September.* Defoe, acting under instructions from Harley goes to Scotland "to dispose people's minds to the Union [of England and Scotland], and by writing or discourse, to answer any objections, libels, or reflec-

tions on the Union, the English, or the Court, relating to the Union.”—(*Portland MSS.*, Vol. IV., page 327.)

708. *February 11.* Harley resigns Secretaryship of State, owing to differences between him and Godolphin (*The Lord Treasurer*) and the Duke of Marlborough. Defoe writes the day previously stating his alarm at the report, and does not know whether to congratulate or condole. “I think verily you are delivered from a fatigue which never answered the harassing you in such a manner and the wasting your hours in the service of those that understand not how to value or reward in proportion to merit. . . I entreat you to use me in anything in which I may serve you, and that more freely than when I might be supposed following your rising fortunes.”—(*Portland MSS.*, Vol. IV., page 477.)

1710. *August 8.* Godolphin dismissed from the Office of Lord High Treasurer.

August 9. Harley appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer, and three days later Defoe writes to congratulate him “on the happy recovery of your honour and trusts in the Government.” He also proposes to wait on him in the evening “with those sheets I showed you, finished from the press, and to lay before you some measures I am taking to serve that honest principle which I know you espouse at a time so nice, and when every man thinks ’tis in his power to wound the Government through the sides of the Treasury, and to run down their masters by running down the public credit.” Defoe is evidently referring here to *An Essay upon Publick Credit*, published on *August 23, 1710*. It is interesting to compare this avowal with what he says in *An Appeal to Honour and Justice*. There is, too, an interesting allusion to this *Essay upon Publick Credit* in an anonymous tract, sometimes attributed to Defoe, called *A Supplement to the Faults on both Sides*, published a

short time after the *Essay upon Publick Credit*. This latter pamphlet is there attributed to Robert Harley. The writer says, "I know what a certain Great-man [Robert Harley], and now Leader of this Management, has been pleas'd to publish to the World in Print, in his *Essay on Credit*." If Defoe was the author of *A Supplement to the Faults, etc.*, this throws an illuminating sidelight on the tortuous methods he pursued to cover his tracks. Whether he wrote it or not, the tract is full of favourable allusions to him and his writings.

September 5. Defoe writes to Harley offering his services "in return for the favours I daily receive from you," and proposing his *Essay upon Loans* (published October 21).

November. Defoe again in Scotland on another mission.

1711. *February.* Defoe, now in London, submits a long abstract of things to discuss with Harley.

May 23. Harley created Earl of Oxford.

1712. Publication of Defoe's *Seasonable Warning and Caution against the Insinuations of Papists and Jacobites in favour of the Pretender. Being a Letter from an Englishman at the Court of Hanover*.—(See page 212.)

1713. *February 21.* Defoe publishes *Reasons against the Succession of the House of Hanover*, etc.

March 26. Publication of the other pamphlet mentioned by Defoe (page 212): *And what if the Pretender should come? Or some Considerations of the Advantages and real Consequences of the Pretender's possessing the Crown of Gt. Britain*.

April 12. Defoe writes to the Earl of Oxford of the designs of Benson, Burnet, and Redpath against him for writing the above pamphlets. "The book which angers them is entitled *Reasons against the Hanover Succession*."

sion, where their own topics of the Allies being dis-obliged by the Peace, and France being a power irresistible, and our fatal heats at home, are ironically laid down as reasons why we should think no more of the succession, etc. But all the rest of the book are clear and professed banters upon the Pretender."

Defoe appears at the Court of the Queen's Bench, on a charge of writing the above pamphlets, and the Court was unanimous that the books were *scandalous, wicked, and treasonable libels*. He was told by Judge Powis that he might be hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd for the books, but through the intervention of Harley and the Queen, Defoe "had the good luck to escape the gallows."

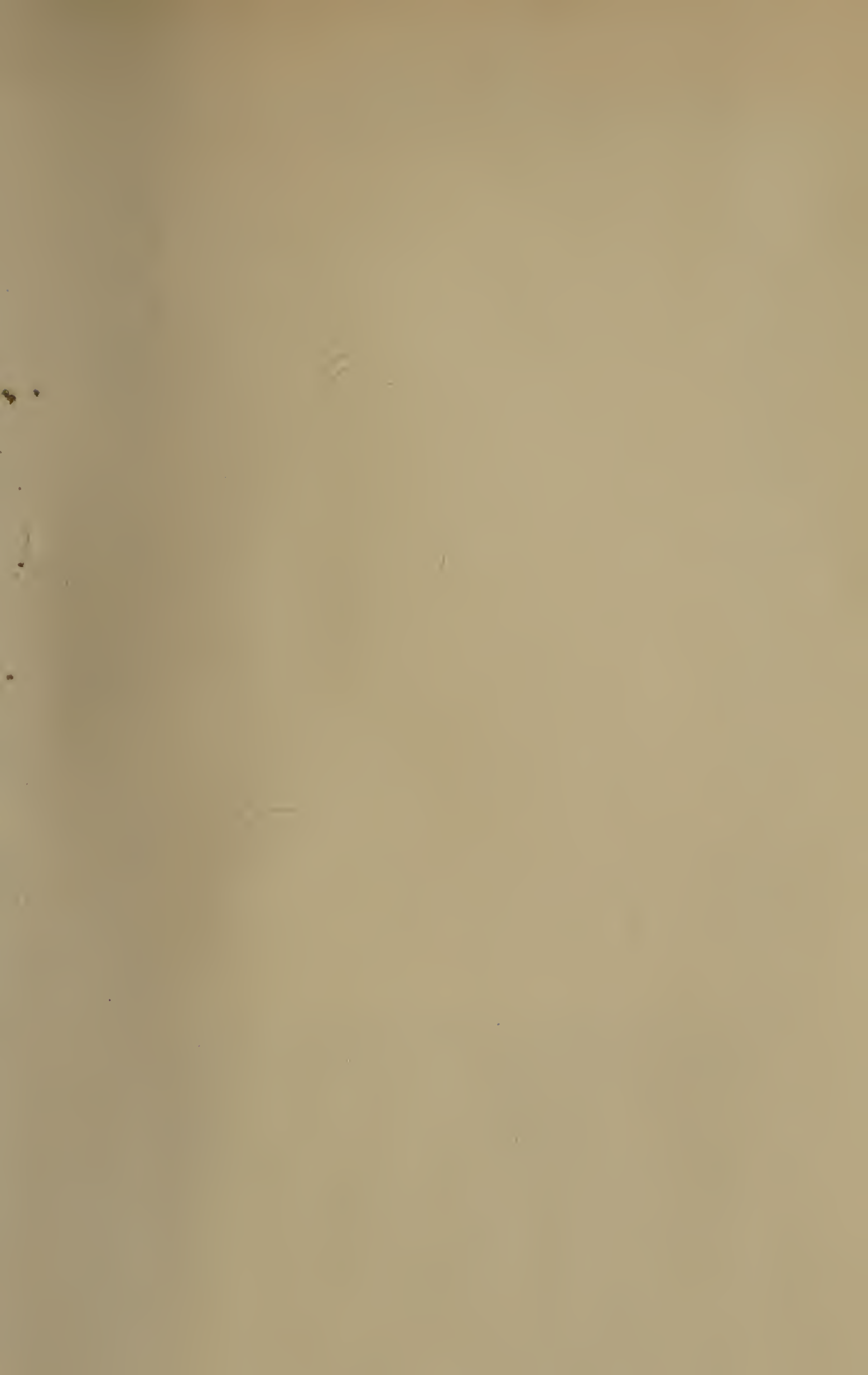
On April 14, Defoe writes to the Earl of Oxford, from Newington, thanking him for "his seasonable and happy deliverance."

"This is the third time," he continues, "I am rescued from misery and a jail by your generous and uncommon goodness; and this is the goodness for which the gratitude of this age would have me against principle, conscience, honour, and gratitude, maltreat and abuse you. . . . I should be unjust to Mr. Borrett, if I did not acquaint you that he executed your orders so wisely, with so much caution, so much indifference, and yet with so just an authority, *that no suggestion could be made of his being directed*, and yet the end was immediately answered; and I was set free, giving two sufficient bail for £800 and myself £800."—(*Portland MSS.*, Vol. V., page 282.)

1714 July 27. Harley is dismissed from office of Lord High Treasurer.

August 1. Death of Anne, and Accession of George I.

1715. January. Publication of Defoe's *Appeal to Honour and Justice*.



PHILLIPS ACADEMY



3 1867 00028 5218

DATE DUE

Feb 15 '43

May 20 '58

My 9 '60

Oct 20 '60

MAR 8 - 1973

DEC 6 '82

53505

820

Defoe

D 362
v. 13

Writings

